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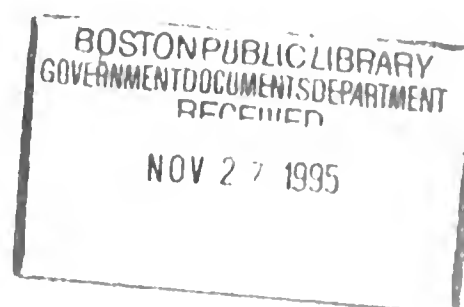






HOUSING PREFERENCES OF OLDER PEOPLE

FOLLOW-UP STUDY NO. 2  
West End Couples



RESEARCH DIVISION  
United Community Services of Metropolitan Boston  
January, 1962

Price \$1.00



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## SECTION I

### INTRODUCTION AND REVIEW OF PRE-RELOCATION WEST END STUDY

#### The general problem:

The special needs of the aging have become a recognized problem area in the last decade. This growing interest has resulted from an increase in the numbers and the proportion of older people together with a decline in family responsibility for the special requirements of the elderly members.

Among the needs that will become more common in the coming decade is that of specialized housing for the elderly. Many older people, unable to care for themselves, need specialized care. Because of the urgency of their problem, this group has been receiving specialized attention. In addition to this group, however, there is a large group of elderly people who are able to care for themselves and wish to live in independent quarters. Among them are many who would find it much more comfortable to live in quarters designed with their specific needs in mind rather than in housing built for the general population.

One such group is the growing number of older people in the low income brackets whose homes are located in the older decaying parts of cities and are therefore likely to be in the path of renewal projects or new highways. These people are usually members of minority groups who have special housing needs. In addition there is another type of older person living in large homes who no longer need space because their children have grown, and are unable or unwilling to keep up payments on these homes because their income had been reduced by retirement. Putting these two groups together, we find a large number of older people, of varying economic levels and background who need, and will continue to need, specialized housing which is smaller than housing intended for younger families and which will contain features aimed specifically at making the daily life of the less agile person more comfortable.

Research has been done on the special features needed in these homes such as bath railings, low shelves, and doors wide enough to accommodate wheel chairs, all of which allow the older person to live an independent life as long as possible. If the specialized housing is to be satisfactory, however, consideration should be given to the kind of life the occupant wants to live, and the units should be located and arranged with these considerations in mind. The social requirements of the occupants of any kind of housing are always important; they are of special importance to older people who are less agile and tend to spend more time in and around their homes.

#### The specific problem:

Housing needs which arise from the social lives of the occupants are the subject of the research to be described here. The report is based on the last of a series of studies conducted by the Research Division of the United Community Services of Metropolitan Boston aimed at answering the general question: How older individuals wish to live and what kind of housing is suited to their way of life?

There are two facets to this problem. The first is the determination of how the older people wish to live, how they wish to spend their time. This encompasses questions about their interests, what they like to do, the people with whom they wish to spend their time, and the relative importance of different people and activities to them. The second is the relation of these needs to their housing requirements. How does their preferred life pattern affect the kind of location they need. For example, Where should the housing be located--in the city or in the suburbs, that is, is it preferable that they be near the services and activities of the central city or near specific people in a particular suburb? Should the housing be segregated by age or placed in among other units, i.e. are their activities primarily or potentially with people of their own age, or do they prefer to spend their time with people of all ages? Should they be near their children or not?

### Development of the Studies

The first study in the series, a study of 47 elderly women living in a residential hotel in the center of Boston, was conducted, at the request of the Division of Services to Families and Individuals of the United Community Services. The interviews with the women took place just before the hotel (The Brunswick Hotel) was to be torn down, at a time when the women were therefore intimately and realistically concerned with the problem of their housing needs. Before they moved, the women were interviewed about the life they had led while in the Brunswick Hotel and the type of housing they were seeking: the location they desired and the qualities that underlay the specific housing they sought. After the hotel was torn down, they were reinterviewed to determine what they had actually found and how they re-adjusted to the new surroundings.

The group interviewed in the Brunswick Hotel was composed primarily of single and widowed women, 65 and over, living alone in a residential hotel in the center of Boston. This group came mostly from an urban American background and had maintained few close family ties throughout most of their lives.

Such a group is not representative of many of the types of older people who may seek housing. To help develop a picture of some of the variations in housing requirements, therefore, a second set of studies was conducted using as subjects a contrasting group of older people. This second group consisted of immigrant couples who had migrated from rural areas and small towns in Eastern Europe (Italy, Russia, Poland) and were living in a tightly knit community located near downtown Boston in a section called the West End. These two groups represented extreme examples of common urban types.

Both groups were interviewed before and after they moved from their original homes. The interview schedules used in the West End Study were a development and refinement of the schedules used for the Brunswick Study. Like the Brunswick interview, one part of the pre-relocation interview, conducted before the move, was a simple description of the kind of housing they were seeking and the reasons for the choice. As we have explained elsewhere,

however,<sup>1</sup>this simple information is not very useful by itself, for specific requests made by the person interviewed are generally limited to housing arrangements known to the individual and are usually not considered carefully enough to provide information about the relative merits of alternative possibilities. The central concern of the West End interviews conducted before the move was, therefore, a more detailed description of the life pattern and values of the people interviewed. The type of information sought and the reasoning behind the choice of information will be described fully in the last section of this report. After the completion of the first West End study, we combined the specific housing requests with our information on the life of the individual and the values he held to make some general statements about the housing characteristics that would best suit the group under study.

Reports on the results of the Brunswick Study<sup>2</sup> and the pre-relocation interviews in the West End<sup>3</sup> have already been printed. This report contains the results of the post-relocation follow-up interviews of the West End Group.

### Findings of the pre-relocation West End interviews

Though a full report of the findings of the first part of the West End study has already been printed, it may be helpful at this time to present a brief summary of the life patterns of the couples while they were in the West End.

The pre-relocation interview, conducted before the couples moved was designed to gather information about the life they had lived while in the West End; a) The normal leisure time pattern of the couples, b) their usual source of assistance for minor problems and for emergencies, c) the ability of the couples to maintain contact with the people and places of concern to them and finally d) the customary manner in which kept they kept in contact with them.

The group of people interviewed in the West End consisted of 101 couples predominantly from small towns and villages in Europe. The four main nationalities represented were Italians, Poles, Ukrainians and Jews (from Poland and Russia). These four groups had been living together in the same neighborhood, and often in the same building, for over 25 years, had had a great deal of contact with one another on civic issues and had developed similar living patterns. Despite their physical proximity, however, the four groups never sought close contact with one another and really formed separate communities with their own institutions, history, patterns and interests. Each group was therefore described separately.

<sup>1</sup> Elaine Frieden- -Social Differences and their Consequences for Housing the Aged- - Journal of the American Institute of Planners, Vol. XXVI, No. 2. May, 1960

<sup>2</sup>Research Division of the United Community Services, "Housing Preferences of Older People" March 1957 and "Follow-up Study" summer 1957. (Brunswick Study)

<sup>3</sup>Research Division of the United Community Services of Metropolitan Boston "Housing Preferences of Older People #2" (West End Report), Feb. 1959.

In addition to these four ethnic groupings, there were 9 couples who had come from large cities (Moscow, Rome, Montreal). The activity pattern and values held by these more urbanized couples differed radically from the others. Though these nine form too small a group for any valid comparison, their patterns were similar enough to those of the urbanized women in the Brunswick group to warrant describing them separately.

#### Interests and Leisure Time Activities

The interests and activities of all the couples of small town background were socially oriented. Men spent almost all their time talking to friends in the neighborhood, while the women divided their time between keeping house and socializing with neighbors at the stores. Only a few were interested in reading, in specialized club activity, or in individual activity outside of housekeeping.

The social contacts of the majority "non-urban" group were primarily with people of their own ethnic and age group whom they had originally met through other friends, at church, in ethnic clubs or merely by being neighbors. Socializing took place around the activities that formed the center of their adult activity. The men saw each other at their old place of work, their old corner bar or barbershop and at church; among the women, contact took place around home; food stores and the church. Social contacts were almost exclusively informal, casual and unplanned. There was little planning to meet friends in order to go someplace together and very little visiting at home.

Within this general pattern there were some variations in the specific activities of the different ethnic groups based on the differing circumstances of each group. The Ukrainians, whose ethnic compatriots and church were outside of the West End, were less able to meet other Ukrainians by chance and as a result, did much more visiting than the other groups. Yet, they too, sought nearby meeting places. To make up for the lack of specialized institutions in the West End, they turned a park near the Charles River into a meeting place for Ukrainians during the summer.

The orientation of the urban group was in direct contrast to the majority. These 9 couples spent a large part of their time in more individual activities, watching TV or browsing through the downtown shops. Most of them had little social contact, and those who did socialize, spent a much smaller proportion of their time with friends than the less urban couples. Those few urban couples who did any socializing differed from most of the non-urban in mode of contact also. Their contacts were much less casual. Originally they had met their friends through clubs of interest to them which drew members from outside the West End, and their friends were more scattered spatially than the friends of the non-urban group. When they wished to see friends, therefore, they were apt to visit them at home rather than meet them casually. These nine couples did not form a cohesive group at all and sought no meeting place inside the West End.

### Neighboring Patterns:

One potential source of contact of particular relevance for the study of housing is the neighbor. In the West End, people of different nationalities lived side by side in the same apartment building for years. But the older West Enders limited their contacts with neighbors of different background to mere pleasantries. Most became friendly only with neighbors of the same ethnic group; contacts with the others remained harmonious but casual. This situation developed first because language and old customs provided psychological barriers to inter-group contact, and second, because the churches and ethnic clubs provided alternative sources of companionship near home for people of common background. The one group that did not have either ethnic institutions or people of similar background nearby (the Ukrainians) did become a little friendlier with neighbors of different background than others.

On the other hand, the urban group paid almost no attention to neighbors of any kind, choosing to have their contact with friends on the basis of interests rather than location.

### Relationships with children:

The family ties of the non-urban West Enders were much stronger than those that exist in the usual urban American parent-child relationship. The majority of the couples who had children saw at least one of them once a week, often more frequently. In most cases, the children in these families still felt a great deal of responsibility for their parents, and were the basic source of security for the couples. In addition, some spent a great deal of time with their parents. This contrasts strikingly with the nine urban couples who generally saw their children only on holidays and special occasions, maintaining much more tenuous ties than the other.

Though most of the couples had close contact with their children, there were three different types of relationships. We emphasize this difference here because we learned that the differences affected locational preferences.

Those who were closest to their children, spent a great deal of time in common activities with them. Daughters, in particular, spent a great deal of time cooking, shopping and working around the house with their mothers. In addition, the children always took responsibility for their parents in time of need (in dealings with the Redevelopment Authority, looking for new housing, coping with illness or with less serious problems such as fixing broken furniture). We labelled this type of relationship one of "companionship". The second type of relationship was primarily one of responsibility. The children were always available when the parents needed them, but they tended to visit their parents once a week or less, and spent less time in everyday activities with them. In the third, the children provided neither companionship nor security. Visits to the family were infrequent and "formal" providing little effect on the daily life of the parents.

#### Ability to maintain contact and means of contact:

This group, as we noticed before, spent most of their time in the neighborhood, making contact with others in neighborhood institutions, stores, restaurants, churches. The more active, generally those in better health, did go out of the West End to other parts of Boston somewhat more often than the others, but the overall pattern was one of local activity. Because of their customary mode of contact (unplanned, casual contacts with a large number of people in their sub-community around local meeting places) and the lack of energy with which to travel, most of the groups seldom saw friends or relatives who lived outside the area. The exceptions are illuminating.

The first exceptions were the Ukrainians, who had travelled to church every week and had to go outside of the West End to satisfy their desire for contact with other Ukrainians. Since they were accustomed to travelling, they continued to do so when they were older, reducing the amount of travelling when they became less able to travel, but not eliminating it entirely. The second exceptions were some Italians who were able at times to go out of the West End to visit friends and relatives in other areas, because their children, with whom they were very close, went with them by car on a family visit. In this case, they were not used to travelling by themselves, but their alternative means of travel made visiting at a distance feasible. All the other couples, lacking both custom and alternative sources of transportation, did not leave the West End.

In the majority of cases, the couples interviewed were quite satisfied with the life they were leading in the West End and indicated that they hoped to find housing that would enable them to lead a similar life.

#### Outline of the Follow-up Study

The follow-up study of the West End couples which we are reporting here had two separate purposes. As a second study of the West Enders, we were interested in knowing what happened to the couples after they moved, where they moved, how they readjusted, what changes were made in their living patterns. This information, by itself, however, would not be of general importance, for once again, it contained information only about a specific type of group.

The possible number of life patterns is innumerable. To help provide a basis for judgement about the needs of a variety of types of older people, we were interested in developing an approach to the study of their housing needs as well as describing the needs of the specific group under study. Our primary interest was therefore in determining the degree and type of change that had taken place in the lives of these couples once they were in the new physical and social environment. Were their needs different from those they had anticipated while in the West End? Did they find what they said they wanted? If they did, were they satisfied with it? If they did not, were they unhappy? What were the reasons for the attitudes held? Did any changes that took place follow a pattern



that was coherent with the information learned in the pre-relocation schedule? If not, what considerations should have been added which might have helped understand the changes better.

From the pre-relocation interviews, we learned that three basic factors affecting the type of housing needed by older people were the way in which they satisfied their need for security and for activity, and the ease with which they could keep in contact with the people or institutions that helped them satisfy these needs. On the basis of this information we decided, in the follow-up, to look into the following general topics.

1. What role did the leisure time needs and security needs play in the reaction of the couples to their relocation housing? Did these needs affect their attitudes toward the new housing? If they did, what was the relative importance of the two needs?
2. How stable is the manner in which they satisfy their leisure and security needs? Did the friendship and activity pattern remain the same or differ in the new circumstances. Did they seek security in the same way?.....look toward the same people and places?
3. Were those changes that did take place consonant with the overall orientation of the individual, or did the new circumstances give rise to changes that were unpredictable from earlier interests?
4. While in the West End, the ability of the couples to maintain contact with other people or places depended on

"The location of each.

The mobility of the individuals involved-which in turn depend on:

- , - The physical capacity of the individual-his energy level
- The means of transportation available(to him)
- The amount of experience he had had with travelling

"The strength of the desire of everyone involved to make the contact"<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Research Division, United Community Services of Metropolitan Boston, "Housing Preferences of Older People" # 2 February 1959 P. 31"

The fourth question, or general topic concerned the relevance of these factors in the new situation. Did they continue to influence mobility in the changed circumstances?

These general questions, expanded and developed into more specific queries about the particular needs of specific groups in the West End formed the basis of the follow-up study.

SECTION II

WEST END FOLLOW-UP STUDY

EFFECT OF THE RELOCATION ON WEST END COUPLES

The second set of interviews was conducted about three years after the first. Although the lapse of three years between the two interviews meant that many of the original group would be lost through death, hospitalization, or moves out of the city, the span of time gave us the important advantage of being able to talk to the couples after they had made their primary adjustment to their new surroundings. At the time of the follow-up, most of the couples had been living in their new quarters at least two years. (See Table II). Most, therefore, knew their neighborhoods well, had overcome the first sense of shock and feelings of strangers, and had had a chance to try to adjust. Their reactions were therefore a much better indication of their ability to acclimate themselves to the new environment than their earlier reactions would have been.

Information on the whereabouts of the original group was obtained primarily from the files of the Redevelopment Authority, the telephone book, the Polk City Directory of 1959 and from the knowledge of other West Enders who "kept track" of each other informally. Despite this network of information, we were able to get no information at all on 9 couples. In addition, there were 7 couples more whose first addresses after their move from the West End were known, but whose further movements or fate was unknown to any of these sources. A full description of the whereabouts of the original couples is in Table I.

TABLE I WHEREABOUTS OF THE ORIGINAL RESPONDENTS

Total number of couples in the first set of interviews	101
No information on their whereabouts	9
Moved-no trace of the move	7
Moved out of Metropolitan Boston	6 (To Chelmsford, Rhode Island, New York and Florida)
Both members died	5
One died, other in institutions	3
Refused to be interviewed	2
Total number of households reinterviewed	<u>69</u>

TABLE II NUMBER OF YEARS IN NEW QUARTERS AT THE TIME OF THE INTERVIEW

		%
1 - 5 months	4	06%
6 -11 "	3	04%
1 Year	14	20%
2 Years	37	54%
3 Years	11	16%
	<u>69</u>	<u>100%</u>

Since our couples were primarily a low income group, they had only a limited choice of housing open to them when they moved. As a result, not all of them were able to find places that met their personal standards, i.e., that were in a neighborhood containing comparable neighbors or satisfactory surroundings. Although this is an unsatisfactory situation socially, for our purposes, it meant that we were able to test our predictions of the consequences that might ensue if the couples did not get suitable housing.

In the analysis, the total group of 69 had to be divided into five separate nationality sub-groupings. Since the resulting numbers are very small, it has not been possible for us to corroborate or refute our hypothesis with any statistical certainty. Despite this limitation, the information about actual changes in activities, plus more qualitative statements explaining the meaning and relative importance of many of the findings of the first study. The kind of changes that occurred, for example, plus the statements of the individuals about the reason for the changes, help to explain in more detail the meaning of some of the values and activities of the couples while they were in the West End.

The follow-up interview contained five sections: (1) a description of the arrangements found - the number of rooms, kitchen and toilet facilities, heating arrangements, rent etc.; (2) the original attitude of the respondents to the new neighborhood and reason for choosing it; (3) their present attitude toward their new arrangements (4) their impressions of the effect the move had on their lives; and (5) a description of their present activity pattern.

#### DESCRIPTION OF THE NEW SITUATION

##### Personal Situation of the Group Interviewed:

50 of the 69 households interviewed were still intact, with both partners alive, at the time of the second interview. In the other 19 households, 12 were widows, 6 widowers, and 1 was a woman who subsequently remarried.

Almost all of them were living in independent households. Of the 69 sets of respondents, just 9 were living with relatives - - three couples who had taken joint quarters with a widowed sister or brother, one woman who was the sister of one of the three couples, and the rest, single individuals (three women and two men) who had moved into their children's homes. When siblings lived together, the arrangement tended to be cooperative. One couple, for example, moved into the large home of their widowed brother, sharing the upkeep of the house and all the responsibilities with him.

TABLE III

LIVING ARRANGEMENTS	WIDOWED MAN	WIDOWED WOMAN	COUPLE
Independent	4	9*	44* *
Same building as child	-	-	3
With relative or child	$\frac{2}{6}$	$\frac{4}{13}$	$\frac{3}{50}$

\*Includes one woman remarried

\*\*Includes one couple in which husband is at home, and wife is in institution.

Those who lived with children, on the other hand, tended to be dependent upon the children. Independence was still an important goal, however, satisfaction with this type of arrangement was based to a great extent on the amount of independent action they were able to maintain in their children's households, their ability to adjust to the new neighborhood and to the lives that the children led. This point will be discussed later under a section describing relations with children.

All the rest of the group, including 12 widowed individuals (2/3 of the widowed men and women) lived independently. In order to be able to afford the rent, to remain self-sufficient, two of the women and three of the couples took in boarders.

#### Effect of the move on the West Enders Financially:

The financial resources of the majority of these people remained substantially the same before and after the move. 40 kept the same income while 29 suffered a decrease. 42, or 60% of the 69, were living on full Social Security, pensions, or OAA, and these sources generally remained stable as long as both members of the pair survived. OAA always increased its grant to cover a rise in rent. However, 8 widows suffered a reduction of their husband's social pensions when the husband died.

The most common reason for loss of income attributable to the move itself was the loss of rents. Four of the ten couples in the group who had owned their homes and had used the rents as current income were able to buy other homes and rent out apartments to boarders. The others found no new source of income and lived on the money they had been paid for the old property.

The second most common loss was the loss of work. Three of the group that we interviewed, had owned small stores in the West End. Since two of the stores were marginal and depended completely on the West End for their trade, they went out of business after the move. Just one of the men who owned a barber shop was able to relocate his business and keep it going. In addition to the two men who closed their shops, there were five who found it difficult to commute from their new homes to their old places of work, and therefore retired.

Though the majority of the elder couples were able to retain the same level of income, their financial situation became somewhat more precarious after the move, for their expenses tended to rise. The rents that they had to pay for the new apartments were generally higher than their old rent, and the cost of food was higher away from Haymarket Square. Most of the couples, regardless of ethnic background, previously bought vegetables and other basic foods in Haymarket Square because the prices were low.

TABLE IV  
FINANCIAL EFFECT OF THE MOVE

TABLE IVa PRESENT INCOME

Less than \$100 per mo....	4
\$100 - 159 "	....26
160 - 219 "	....15
220 - 279 "	.... 4
280 - 339 "	.... 1
340 - 399 "	.... 5
400 - "	.... 1
Unknown	....13
	<u>69</u>

TABLE IVb SOURCES OF INCOME-LOSS AND GAIN

	COUPLES	MEN	WOMEN	TOTAL
Same	34	4	2	40
Loss; gain equal amount	2	-	1	3
Loss; gain less	5	-	2	7
Loss	9	2	8	19

TABLE IVc

<u>SOURCES LOST</u> (duplicate count)*			<u>SOURCES GAINED</u> (duplicate Count)*		
Couples	Men	Women	Couple	Men	Women
Rent 10	2	2	Rent 4	-	-
Work 5	-	-	Boarder 3	-	1
Store 2	-	-			
Soc. Sec.-	-	8			
Reduced					
Boarder -	1	1			

SOURCES THAT REMAINED THE SAME OR INCREASED  
(duplicate count)\*

	Couples	Men	Women
O.A.A.	11	1	1
Soc. Sec.	22	1	-
Private Pension	6	-	-
Work	9	2	-
Store	1	-	-

\*Many of the couples had more than one source of income.

TABLE V

Va

Vb

<u>Comparative Incomes</u>		<u>Comparative Rents</u>	
Higher	2	Higher	35
Same	40	Same	9
Lower	27	Lower	6
	<u>69</u>		
<u>Comparative Food Prices</u>		Owned home in	
Higher	47	W. E. - Own	
Same	16	present home	4
Lower	1	Owned home in	
No comment	5	W. E. - now rent	6
	<u>69</u>	Pay no rent-	
		live with family	
		or in home owned	
		by children	9
			<u>69</u>

Arrangements Found:

When their homes were taken the couples that we interviewed scattered all over Metropolitan Boston and beyond. A list of the communities into which they moved can be found in the Appendix. The 69 respondents in our follow-up moved into 26 communities in Metropolitan Boston, Arlington, Brookline, Cambridge, Chelsea, Everett, Revere, Malden, Medford, Melrose, Somerville, Winthrop and W. Quincy. In the city of Boston they moved to South Boston, West Roxbury, Roslindale, Jamaica Plain, East Boston, Dorchester, Roxbury, Mattapan, Hyde Park, Charlestown, Brighton, the North End and Beacon Hill.

Since almost all the women in this group were proud of their homemaking ability and wanted to continue keeping house, it is not too surprising, then, that when they had to find new housing, none of the couples sought out rooms in a hotel-like setting. All of them, with the exception of those who were living with children, found "normal" housekeeping apartments for themselves with full kitchen.

Most of the couples found new apartments that were somewhat smaller than their West End apartments. The average size of the new apartments was 3 or 4 rooms (bath not included as a room) as compared to four rooms and up in the West End. Most of those who had moved into smaller apartments had moved from units of 5 rooms and over to apartments containing 3 or 4 rooms; while those who remained in similar sized apartments had lived in 3 or 4 rooms in the West End.

TABLE VI APT. SIZE COMPARED TO WEST END

Larger	12
Same	25
Smaller	33

Rents<sup>1</sup> for these apartments ranged from \$34 a month to \$100 a month for private housing and from \$30 to \$50 for public housing. The median was about \$55 for private and \$40 for public housing compared to a median of \$31 in the West End.

The housing that they received for these rents was in some ways better and in some ways worse than their apartments in the West End. 76% of them had central heating in their apartments; over 3/4 were able to find apartments that were on lower floors (either the first floor or one flight up), and only two had a bathroom in the hall as compared to 19 in the West End. However, the size of the rooms as well as the number of rooms was often smaller than their rooms in their old apartments. This meant that when children came to visit, there was a great deal of difficulty finding space for them to stay in the apartment. Many of the couples would have therefore preferred a larger apartment, though they could not afford to pay for it.

#### REACTION TO THE NEW SITUATION

##### Index of satisfaction:

One of the purposes of the follow-up was to ascertain how satisfied the couples felt in their new housing, and then to determine which qualities accounted for their attitude. It was therefore very important to determine with some degree of accuracy the attitude of the couples toward their housing. The major problem was the fact that personality variables and other feelings not related to housing might have as much effect on the attitude expressed as the reaction to the objective situation. Consequently, a simple and direct question about attitude would not give us a useful index against which to measure the effect of other housing and locational qualities. Therefore, to get a more significant measure of attitude toward housing, we devised a three-part index composed of questions scattered throughout the questionnaire, aimed at determining three different components of the attitudes: simple reaction to the arrangement; comparison of this situation with their situation in the West End; and comparison with other possible locations in the city. These three facets would probably underly the total attitude and therefore we felt it would be best to make them explicit.

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<sup>1</sup> \$10 a month has been added to the rents of those apartments that do not have central heating in order to make the cost comparable to those apartments that do have central heating.



The first question was placed about midway in the questionnaire after we had determined how the subjects had found the new apartment, what they thought about the neighborhood before they moved in and why they moved there. This question was a simple question asking "How do you like living in-----?" The second question was placed after a discussion of their attitude toward specific qualities of the new environment (shopping, the neighbors, etc.) and the changes for better or worse brought about by the move. At this point we asked "Would you rather have moved somewhere else? Where? Why?" With this question we discussed other possible locations, their pros and cons, and asked them to compare their situations with these other possibilities in terms of the qualities they found attractive. By this means we hoped to determine how much of the original attitude was due to personality factors, i.e., a person saying that he is happy because he is willing to adjust to any new situation, yet would rather be somewhere else; or vice versa, someone indicating that he is dissatisfied because he did not want to move anywhere. Through this question we also found out which qualities in the living environment were important to them, for we made no suggestion concerning the possible reasons for their preference.

The third and last of the questions asked for a comparison of their present situation with the West End. "All in all, do you feel you have been better off here or in the West End."

The answers to each of these three questions have been classified in five categories: (1) extremely unhappy (2) somewhat unhappy (3) neutral or mixed attitude (4) not as happy as in the West End, but nevertheless satisfied: (5) happy in the new situation, in some cases happier than in the West End.

TABLE VII. Answers to the Individual Questions in the Satisfaction Index.

- a) How do you like living in \_\_\_\_\_?    b) All in all, were you better off here or in the West End?  
c) Would you rather have moved somewhere else?

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5. Like (happy, happier)	5. Better off here	5. No, I like it here.
4. <u>Satisfied</u> but not happy	4. Same for us in both places	4. No, this is second best to West End
3. <u>Neutral</u>	3. Some things better, some things worse	3. Don't know any place we would be better off any place equally bad
2. <u>Dislike</u> (unhappy)	2. Slightly better off in the West End	2. Yes, but too tired to do so now
1. <u>Extremely unhappy</u>	1. Much better off in West End	1. Yes, definitely

These answers were given numerical equivalents from 1-5 (see Table VII above) and then averaged to get an index of satisfaction. For example, a couple that indicated in answer to question a) that they liked living in the new neighborhood, in answer to question b) that it was the same for them in both the new neighborhood and in the West End, and to question c) that they did not want to move because they liked it in the new neighborhood, would be

considered to be in the happiest range. They would get a rating of 5 on question a); 4 on question b) and 5 on question c). Averaged, it would give them a rating of 4.6 indicating that they were among those having the highest degree of satisfaction.

#### Degree of satisfaction with new situation

A tabulation of the attitudes of the group interviewed showed that only 11 or 16% of the total group could be described as happy in their new surroundings. 6 of the couples were happier in their new homes than they had been in the West End and 5 were as happy as before. The rest ranged from not as happy as in the West End but satisfied that they had done as well as possible outside of the West End to complete misery in the new surroundings. (18 were satisfied but not happy; 21 had more neutral reactions; 8 were unhappy; 11 were extremely dissatisfied.)

The predominance of the feeling that the new life was not as good as it was in the West End, regardless of the type of arrangement found, indicates that these older people, who had lived in one place for a long time, found the move itself a great shock and found it difficult to adjust to any new situation.

The truth of this observation was called to the attention of the author very dramatically during most of the interviews. At the first mention of the West End, most of the couples looked very resigned and insisted that nothing would ever take the place of their West End. Some were "certainly not as happy here as I was in the West End, but this place is o.k.", others would shake their heads and say "What can we do, go back?"; many continually asked all kinds of questions about old friends during the interview and wanted to know what had happened to their street and church. The uprooting had been hard, they indicated, and they were still not adjusted to it two or three years later. The high frequency of this kind of reaction would suggest that when an older person has been wrenched out of a familiar situation, he will very likely feel the new one is worse than the original, regardless of the quality of either.

In order to discount the effect of the uprooting and compare the relative effect of the different environments on attitudes, we rated the comments in relation to comments made by the rest of the group. Thus, we counted the group that were happier in their new surroundings and those that were as happy as they had been in the West End as one category, the most positive group, those who were not quite as happy, but were at least satisfied that their new housing was the best they could do outside the West End were counted positive, those who had mixed feelings were called neutral; while the rest were divided into negative and most negative.

Discounting the reaction to the uprooting, therefore, and making the ratings relative to the others in the group rather than absolute, we found that 29 of the 69 or 42% were in the two more positive categories; 21 or 30% were neutral and 19 or 25% were negative. We were unable to determine the attitudes of two individuals who were very ill.

# Help during the crisis of moving:

The forced move from the West End was a major crisis in the lives of these older couples. It is not surprising, therefore, to learn that the children played an important role in helping the parents find new quarters and in getting settled. They were not the primary source of information about possible available apartments; the majority of the couples went to the Redevelopment Authority's office at one time or another during the relocation process for information and listings. They were however, an important secondary source.

Many couples, did not want the apartments on the Authority's listings. Just 21 of the 69 or 31% took apartments found for them solely by the Authority. Others received help from children, friends, and relatives. The most common informal source of information (26%) about the apartment finally taken was the children's information. Next came friends and relatives (26% together) who informed the couples of vacant apartments in their neighborhoods; and fourth were those who used real estate agencies and newspapers to find out about homes for sale, rather than apartments for rent.

TABLE IX SOURCE OF INFORMATION ABOUT SPECIFIC APT. TAKEN

	With Children	Without Children	Total	%
Authority	17	4	21	31
Children	18	-	18	26
Friends	6	4	10	14
Relatives	5	3	8	12
Real Estate Office	2	1	3	4
Newspaper	3	-	3	4
Walk around desired neighborhood	3	-	3	4
Other (Welfare worker Mass. Gen. Hosp.)	2	1	3	4
	<u>56</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>69</u>	<u>99%</u>

The major contribution of the children appeared to be in helping the parents look over the prospective apartments and settle themselves into them once taken. 78% of the couples who had children received this kind of help.

TABLE VIII

Degree of satisfaction with new surroundings	Number of couples			%
	Less urban	Urban	TOTAL	
4.6 - 5 Happy or happier: <u>Most positive</u>	8	3	11	16%
3.6 - 4.3 Not as happy, but satisfied: <u>Positive</u>	16	2	18	26%
2.6 - 3.3 Neutral or mixed: <u>Neutral</u>	20	1	21	30%
1.6 - 2.3 Unhappy: <u>Negative</u>	8	-	8	12%
1 - 1.3 Most unhappy : <u>Most negative</u>	9	-	9	13%
? Attitude not known	2	-	2	3%
	<u>63</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>69</u>	<u>100%</u>

What were the differences between these groups? What made some more satisfied than others? All except the nine who were living with relatives had the same basic arrangement, an apartment with full kitchen in a normal apartment building with no special features. We would guess, therefore, that the differences in attitude were primarily reactions to differences in their locations and environment.

To find some clues, let us look now at the findings in terms of the outline described in section I. The first part of the outline was concerned with the way in which the couples found security and activity, whether or not they affected the attitudes of the couples toward their new housing and the relative effects of the two.

The first question asked was therefore, did the couples' source of security change after relocation? If so, how did it change?

#### Source of Security:

In the pre-relocation study, we noticed that the security needs of the group were adequately satisfied. Generally, they were fairly healthy and could count on a variety of sources of assistance...close neighbors whom they had known for years, nearby relatives, spouses and children. In addition to the spouses, the children were the major source of the couples' security. They provided their parents with help when they were ill and with other assistance when needed: (contacts with the Redevelopment Authority, help when the house needed repairing). These children who took responsibility for the welfare of their parents did not always live in the West End near their parents. Actually, few did. The majority lived elsewhere in the city, but family ties brought them back in time of crisis.

After the move, the children became the most important source of assistance. While in the West End, the couples were reluctant to ask for help from a neighbor that was not well-known for many years. In their new housing, this meant that fewer people were available to them for assistance. Only a few who were very close to some new neighbor continued to make use of this source. Children, therefore, became even more important to them for help in times of illness and for other types of aid.

TABLE X SOURCE OF ASSISTANCE IN CHECKING APARTMENT  
(duplicate count - often more than one source helped)

No. of couples	56	13	69
	No. with children	without children	TOTAL
No checking done	3	3	6
No help	5	6	11
Children	44	-	44
Relatives	4	3	7
Friends	1	-	1
Social Worker	1	-	1
Other (moved into relative's home; lived in the home before)	3	1	4

Assistance with Other Problems:

In other situations of stress the children not only took over the same responsibilities for their parents as they had while they were in the West End, but did even more. While in the West End, a network of friendly neighbors and relatives as well as children helped the couples in cases of minor need. After the move, the children took over an increasing amount of responsibility. 65% of those with children could depend on them at all times and almost all could depend on them during major illnesses.

TABLE XIa TURN TO WHOM WHEN ILL?

	TOTAL (duplicate count)	NO. WITH children 56	NO. WITHOUT children 13
Children	36	36	--
In same area	24	24	--
Not in same area	12	12	--
Neighbor	13	10	3
Hospital Clinic	12	8	4
Hospital	8	8	--
Relative	5	2	3
Visiting Nurse	3	2	1
Druggist	1	-	1
Private Doctor	2	-	2
No one	8	6	2

TABLE XIb TURN TO WHOM FOR MINOR PROBLEMS  
(repair broken furniture, etc.)

	TOTAL (Duplicate count)	No. with children 56	No. without children 13
Children	42	42	--
Neighbor	9	6	3
Relative	9	3	6
No one	15	11	4

Those couples who were able to get help from their children when they needed it did not feel an urgent need to live near a hospital or clinic. When asked the question "would you like to have some place nearby where you could get help if needed", most felt that it could be "nice but not necessary". To them, the question was academic both because they did not need a clinic often enough to make the question of location in relation to it a real one and because they had always been able to get help when necessary.

Those who travelled to clinics frequently or did not have children to call on felt somewhat more need for a medical facility nearby. Most who were married felt that their spouse could care for them, but if they had to travel frequently or if the spouse were also ill, they felt it would be good to be near a source of aid.

TABLE XII ARE YOU INTERESTED IN HAVING A CLINIC NEARBY?

	Turn to children for assistance 36		Turn to others 25		Turn to no one or to hospital only 8	
Yes	4	11%	6	24%	6	75%
Nice but not necessary	26	72%	17	78%	2	25%
Not necessary	6	17%	2	8%	-	-

This question was more important to the six urban couples than any of the others. Four of the couples did not have children and of the two who had children, one was not close enough psychologically to turn to him.. For this group, the idea of a clinic or a health resource nearby was more appealing. They had, in the past made more use of formal resources than the others. When they were asked to whom they turned in emergencies after the relocation one couple mentioned their son, one childless widow mentioned relatives and four others used formal sources. Two who were near the West End continued to use the Mass. General Hospital as their health resource. The other two used the local police department and a nearby clinic respectively.

The problem was a vital one for only one respondent-the childless urban widow who was living with relatives because she was ill. Despite the fact that she was with relatives she felt that she needed to be able to get to a clinic easily for she felt that she was a burden to her sister and wished to get help from a clinic more easily.

The problem, then, does seem to be most real for widowed individuals without children, a little less important for couples without children and least important for couples who have responsible children to watch out for them.

#### Relation of Leisure Patterns to Housing Satisfaction:

Turning to the second part of our question; what is the relative importance of the need for a specific style of leisure activity? How closely related is it to satisfaction with the new housing?

In the West End, the key to the lives of all the older couples except the Ukrainians and those who were of urban background, was that of sociability. The Italians, Jews and Poles in the West End considered themselves an integral part of a social grouping amidst which they carried out their daily affairs. The description of second generation Italian culture in the West End given by Herbert Gans in a report made for the Center for Community Studies could be used to describe the older Polish, Italian and Jewish couples as well as the younger Italians. Although the family relations within the immediate and extended family, and the attitudes toward mobility of the children differed in Italian, Jewish and Polish families, the criteria for friendships and type of activity preferred by the older couples were very similar in the three groups and very succinctly described in Gans' statement.

"The basis of West End life is sociability within the peer group. By sociability, I do not mean the entertainment of party giving known to the middle class. Nor do I mean the light-hearted leisure time activity which that middle class ranks well below occupational and other individual activity in importance.....It is not occasional leisure time activity but (involves) daily....meetings....The group may meet on a corner, in a tavern; at a workplace.<sup>1</sup> (One basis for friendship)....is compatibility....in terms of interest, attitudes and behavior. What they have to say, what they want to listen to, must be of common interest.<sup>2</sup>"

The common interests of the West Enders revolved almost completely around family and neighborhood experiences - - children, grandchildren, homemaking, church gossip, local events and business or occupational experience.

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1. Herbert Gans "The Urban Villagers: A study of the Second Generation Italians in the West End of Boston", unpublished report p. 90.

2. Ibid p. 91.

Most social activity, therefore, centered around these activities. During the daily trip to the store for example, women would meet friends on the way, at the store and on the return trip. A shopping trip in which there was no social contact was considered meaningless....i.e., necessary but unsatisfactory. The men, too, met friends in the barber shop, in the grocery store where they were friendly with the owner, outside the old bar where they always met after work or which was near their old place of work. Contact with others was continual; that is, an individual would not necessarily meet the same person every day, but he would meet and spend time with someone from this cohesive grouping every day.

The other cultural pattern in the West End, which was represented by a small number of couples who had been raised in more urban settings (Rome instead of Sicilian towns, Moscow instead of smaller villages in Russia) did not exhibit the extremely social leisure time pattern of the more "rural" West Enders. The couples who followed this urban pattern, did not consider themselves a part of any cohesive social grouping in the area. Instead, they made their friends on the basis of more individual interests, and were used to more independent forms of relaxation.

Their source of friends resembled that typified by the more urbanized middle class which has contact with a variety of people at work and at home, and learns to choose specific friends from this varied group. In addition, their activities were less tied to specific people or places. None of them spent every day with friends, and those that wanted social contact were more willing than the non-urban group to make a special trip to visit friends as a separate activity. Finally, the clubs that these couples joined were not as extension of the West End community but embodied special interests (a social service society to help shut-ins, for example).

The Ukrainians followed a pattern somewhere between the urban and the "rural" group. They were basically socially oriented and wanted contact with other Ukrainians, but since their friends were scattered over the city, they visited more often and had less casual unplanned contact.



Actual Social Orientation in the New Community:

The amount of social contact that the couples were able to maintain in the new environment was cut down considerably. In the West End, most of the couples had contact with other friendly people (friends, neighbors, relatives, children) almost every day for at least a short time. In the new apartments, only a few could continue this level of contact.

TABLE XIII TOTAL AMOUNT OF SOCIAL CONTACT IN NEW ENVIRONMENT  
(WITH CHILDREN, RELATIVES, AND FRIENDS)

	Ital., Jewish, Pol. "Non-Urban"		Ukrainian		Urban	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Every Day	6	7	1	1	-	-
2-4 times a week	12	11	-	-	-	-
once a week	9	14	2	2	1	1
1-2 times a month	11	9	2	2	2	3
Less than once a month	5	3	-	-	-	-
Seldom, Never	3	8	-	-	2	2
TOTAL	46	52	5	5	5	6

The most common frequency of social contact was once a week or less after the move as compared to every day in the West End.

The move to the new location appears to have affected the non-urban group more than either the Ukrainians or the urban group. Both the Ukrainians and the urban group maintained the same relative frequency of contact before and after the relocation. The urban group did not have much social contact either in the new location or in the West End, while the Ukrainians, who had had contacts with others on the average of once a week in the West End seem to have sustained only a small drop in this average afterwards. It was the three most cohesive sub-communities (the non-urban group) that were most affected after the move. Their frequency dropped from every day to once a week or less.

Relation of total amount of social contact to overall satisfaction:

Putting together the vital concern of the Italian, Jewish and Polish couples with daily contacts and the relatively greater effect of the move on them, it is not surprising to find that they were the most disturbed by the sharply decreased frequency of social contact after relocation.

TABLE XIV SATISFACTION BY TOTAL AMOUNT OF SOCIAL CONTACT

Definitions: H includes the Happy and Satisfied categories  
 N includes the Neutral or mixed category  
 U includes the Unhappy and Very Unhappy categories  
 (The two whose attitude is unknown is not included here)

	WOMEN								
	"Rural"			Ukrainian			Urban		
	H.	N.	U.	H.	N.	U.	H.	N.	U.
2-5 x wk.	16	2	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
1 x wk.	2	11	1	1	1	-	1	-	-
1-2 x mo.	-	4	5	-	2	-	2	1	-
Less than 1 x mo.	-	-	9	-	-	-	2	-	-
Total no. women	18	17	15	2	3	-	5	1	-

	MEN								
	"Rural"			Ukrainian			Urban		
	H.	N.	U.	H.	N.	U.	H.	N.	U.
2-5 x wk.	15	3	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
1 x wk.	-	8	1	1	1	-	1	-	-
1-2 x wk.	1	3	8	-	2	-	1	1	-
Less than 1 x mo.	-	1	6	-	-	-	2	-	-
Total no. men	16	15	15	2	3	-	4	1	-

Among these more "rural" West Enders the relation between satisfaction level and the total amount of social contact with children, relatives and friends is quite clear. As long as the couples were able to see friends and/or relatives at least once a week, they were not completely dissatisfied with their new surroundings, but tended to fall in the positive to neutral range. Almost all who were able to maintain contact 2-5 times a week (i.e. fairly often during the week) were satisfied with their new homes - - that is, were happy with their new arrangements or felt that they had done as well as they could outside the West End. 84% of the men and 89% of the women were in the satisfied group. Just a small percentage (16% of the men and 11% of the women) indicated neutral feelings. Among the couples whose contact was decreased to around once a week, the picture was reversed. The majority of these had neutral feelings about their neighborhood (78% of the women and 89% of the men).

As soon as the contact dropped below once a week, we find the couples quite dissatisfied with their new situation ... the less the contact, the more unhappiness. The majority of those who had social contacts once or twice a month, were dissatisfied, and all but one of those whose contacts were limited to just once a month or less were among the most dissatisfied.

The Ukrainians showed the same tendencies as the majority on this question. Those who had frequent contacts were more satisfied. None of them, however, were as dissatisfied with the housing as the majority, primarily because their lives had not been affected as drastically.

The pervasiveness of this interest in social contact which has been indirectly suggested by the table just discussed, can be seen more specifically in the spontaneous comments the couples made throughout the interview.

The first set of comments came in answer to an open ended question about the neighborhood: What is this neighborhood like? The question gave them a chance to describe the neighborhood in their own terms. When asked this question, all but two of the total non-urban group (this time including the Ukrainians) chose to describe the presence or absence of potential friends, or the friendliness of the neighbors; for example, "my neighbors around here are wonderful people, very friendly" or "people here are too snobbish and unfriendly".

TABLE XVa SPONTANEOUS COMMENTS

	(incl. Ukrainian)			
	Non-urban		urban	
Total	63		6	
Number mentioning social characteristics	61	96%	3	50%
Number mentioning physical characteristics	38	60%	6	100%

In response to another open-ended question concerning how life had changed for them ("Has life changed very much since you have been living here?") comments about social contacts present or missed, again predominated. In the content of these answers, we can see how directly the social characteristics of the neighborhood and the potentiality for friendship was related to satisfaction.

TABLE XVb SPONTANEOUS COMMENTS ON  
CHANGED ENVIRONMENT (social comments)

	NON-URBAN (incl. Ukr.)						URBAN			
	H.	S.	N.	U.	V.	U.H.	S.	N.	U.	V.
Total	8	16	20	8	9	3	2	1	-	-
Positive Comments										
Have old friends here	5	7	3	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
As friendly, or friendlier with people here	8	11	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-
Negative Comments										
Miss old friends	2	6	10	8	8	1	-	1	-	-
No contact with old friends or little contact	-	11	10	8	7	-	-	1	-	-
No contact or little contact with either new friends of neighbors	-	3	16	7	8	-	-	-	-	-

Almost all those who were satisfied or happy with their arrangements mentioned either that they had old friends in the neighborhood or that the people in their neighborhood were friendly to them. None of the others mentioned friendly people at all. On the contrary, they mentioned missing old friends or not having potential friends near them. Though their statements may or may not reflect the actual situation, the predominance of this type of comment shows that it reflected a common orientation to the world.

The answers to this question uncovered an interesting sidelight. Earlier in this report, we mentioned that there were five couples who were happier in their new homes than they were in the West End. In answer to this question, these couples stated that in the West End they had not had a chance to be sociable with others, either because of a family situation or because their friends were no longer living in the West End. After they moved, they were, for the first time in many years, able to spend more time with friends. In one case, the limiting family situation was resolved; the others moved nearer to friends who had moved out before them. All these families responded with great joy to the increased social possibilities, and felt much happier with the new housing than they had felt in the West End.

Turning now to the urban couples, we find that they did not exhibit the same concern with social contact that the others did. First of all, none of them had contact more often than once a week with friends, relatives or children, and one or two had barely any contact at all. (One couple knew their neighbors just enough to nod to them as they sat outside, and had no contacts with anyone else. The other was a man who was completely absorbed in his job as model ship maker and had no outside concerns). Since informal socializing had always been less important to the more urban couples, the fact that they did not see any one more often than once a week had no consistent effect on their attitudes toward their new homes. Five out of the six "urbanites" were satisfied with their new homes though their degree of social contact in the new situation ranged from once a week to none at all.

Nor were they concerned with their new neighbors or the social characteristics of the neighborhood. When asked to describe the neighborhood, in contrast to the others, just half noted the social environment while all made comments about the physical surroundings.

#### Relation of attitude toward Apartment to Overall Satisfaction:

Satisfaction is a complex attitude and could be the result of a combination of circumstances. Therefore, to determine whether anything else other than social orientation could also be influencing the overall attitudes of our couples, we checked to see if any other qualities of the environment were related to their satisfaction. Among other possibilities were satisfaction with the apartment itself and satisfaction with new physical environment.

TABLE XVIa OVERALL SATISFACTION BY SATISFACTION WITH HOUSING

	Non-Urban (incl. Ukrainian)					Urban		
	TOTAL	H.	N.	U.	?	H.	N.	U.
	69	24	20	17	2	5	1	-
Better	30	10	9	8	1	2	-	-
Same	15	6	5	2	-	1	-	-
Mixed	11	4	2	4	-	1	-	-
Worse	8	3	3	1	-	1	-	-
No answer	5	1	1	2	1	-	-	-

As it turned out, neither of these were related to the degree of satisfaction with the new surroundings. Attitude toward the new apartment appeared to have very little to do with the overall feeling of satisfaction. A substantial portion of all those interviewed felt that their new housing was the same or better than their West End housing. (45 or the 69 felt this way). Checking this feeling against their overall satisfaction, we find that 19 or 42% of this group were among the more satisfied. When we look at the 19 couples who had mixed attitudes toward their housing or felt that they were in worse housing, we find about the same proportion (9 or 47%) among the more satisfied. A simplified version of the table described above, shows graphically the similarity in overall reaction of those who felt they had found good housing and those who felt they had found housing that was not as good.

TABLE XVIb HOUSING

ATTITUDE	Better or the same	%	Mixed or Worse	%
Happy	19	42%	9	46%
Neutral	15	33%	5	27%
Unhappy	10	22%	5	27%
?	1	—		
	45	—	19	—

Looking back at the comments about the physical environment made in answer to the open ended question on the neighborhood "What do you think of \_\_\_\_\_?", we were able to get a more qualified description of the feelings of the couples about their physical surroundings, the relative importance of the physical and social surroundings, and the way in which they related to one another.

To do this, we first split all the substantive responses into positive comments about the neighborhood, negative comments and mixed comments. Then we related the direction of the comments to the overall satisfaction of the couples.

TABLE XVII SATISFACTION BY ATTITUDE TOWARD PHYSICAL  
CHARACTERISTICS OF NEIGHBORHOOD

OVERALL ATTITUDE	NON-URBAN				URBAN		
	Attitude toward the physical environment			No Comment			
	Positive	Mixed	Negative		Positive	Mixed	Neg.
Happy	6	1	6	11	3	2	-
Neutral	7	3	3	7	-	1	-
Unhappy	6	1	5	5	-	-	-
Attitude not known				2			
Total	19	5	14	25	3	3	-

As we noted before, 25 of the non-urban made no comment at all about their physical surroundings. Among those who made comments about the physical characteristics of the neighborhood, there was no positive association between overall satisfaction and positive statements about the environment. 32% of the couples who felt they had moved to a good environment were among the more satisfied as compared to 43% of those from neighborhoods they considered "bad". In fact, the tendency, if so slight a difference can be called a tendency at all, went in the direction of a reverse correlation between "bad" surroundings and satisfaction. This reverse correlation, though really very slight, can be explained if we look at the actual comments made by these people, and compare them with the social comments they made in answer to the same question. Most of those who described pleasant physical surroundings were talking about the country-like qualities of the suburbs (i.e., the grass, fresh air, one and two family houses in contrast to the city tenements they knew). These suburbs whose physical way of life, and most of the comments about the social characteristics of the neighborhood indicated that they felt uncomfortable in these neighborhoods. The reasons for this phenomenon will be discussed in the next section. On the other hand, the negative comments referred to such qualities as the lack of sun in the North End. The people who lived in these neighborhoods noted some unpleasant physical surroundings as compared to their West End homes, but nevertheless felt at home in the community.

The relatively greater importance of the social qualities of the housing does not mean that more pleasant surroundings were not appreciated. All of them preferred better neighborhoods to more crowded surroundings. However, since contact with congenial people was so important to them, they were willing to sacrifice good physical surroundings if living in such surroundings necessarily brought isolation, then they would choose the social contact in less attractive but friendly neighborhoods over better but lonelier places.

Two of the couples made deliberate choices that illustrate these alternatives. One of the two complained about the dirty narrow streets of the North End and the other complained about the damp weather in Revere. Both preferred to stay in these sections amidst friends rather than move, and both were very happy (among the most happy).

Putting all the above information together, we can say that the need for almost daily contact with friendly neighbors, which characterized the non-urban West Enders while in the West End, continued to characterize him after he left his old environment. If he was able to satisfy this need in his new home, then he was satisfied, regardless of the physical characteristics of his surroundings; if he was not able to satisfy it, he was unhappy, however physically attractive his new situation.

The basic interests of the small urban group likewise remained fairly stable. Less interested in their neighbors than the other West Enders, they remained less interested after they moved. Not one of them made any statements about their neighbors or about the potential friendliness of the others in the neighborhood. Those comments that concerned other people indicated more middle class interests and tastes. One couple noted with pleasure that the section in which they lived was a quiet one. In addition, some old friends of theirs (not from the West End) lived not too far away, and could be reached by a short bus ride or a pleasant walk. The other two were commenting on the presence of their special interest clubs.

The positive interests of the urban couples can be seen better in their comments about the physical environment. Most of their interests were individual; their comments referred primarily and most often to distance from shopping; second, to distance from downtown entertainment and clubs of special interest to them; third, to proximity to a hospital; and fourth, to distance from the job. Other comments on the environment concerned the country-like quality of the suburbs.

Five of the six urbanites were among the most satisfied with their new apartments. It was, therefore, not possible to see which qualities of the physical environment meant more to them in terms of their feeling of satisfaction. Since we have no other data, in this connection it is interesting to note that the one couple that was neutral was the only one to mention that they were too far away from the entertainment afforded by downtown Boston.

All this would suggest that the basic orientation of the couples did not change after they moved. Their differing methods of deriving satisfaction from the world and their ingrained manner of looking at the world were basic, coloring the way in which they interpreted the new situation in which they found themselves. This orientation - - social for the non-urban and more individual for the urban - - had a more direct effect on satisfaction than either proximity to a clinic or the quality of the physical surroundings. It was, in fact, the most important influence on their overall satisfaction.

#### Changes in Activity Patterns:

The third question in our outline concerned the changes that might take place in the actual leisure-time activities. Would they be consonant with the overall orientation or would they change in new circumstances. For the majority of the West Enders being consonant with the overall orientation would mean that any change in their leisure-time pattern would have to satisfy their need for frequent contact with friendly people.

In the follow-up we looked at three facets of their friendships

1. The Source of Friendships:

In the foregoing discussion, the term social contact has been used to mean contact with any friendly person - - be he a child, relative or a friend. Though society is divided into kin and those who are not related, it is possible for friends to be chosen from either one of these two divisions or from both; i.e., people can find companionship with children, other relatives (sisters, brothers, uncles, aunts, cousins) or unrelated people. All of these are potential sources of friendship, and the relative importance of each of these depends on the cultural background of the individuals concerned. In changing circumstances we thought, it might be possible that the relative importance of friends or relatives could change; that is, they might turn to relatives rather than friends for companionship or vice versa.

2. The characteristics of the friends:

Individuals with different characteristics might suit them as friends; perhaps our professor who had always sought out others of his own profession as friends, might find someone in a different profession equally satisfying. Perhaps also, the West Enders, who had always sought friends among people of their own background and age, might in a new neighborhood become friendly with people of other backgrounds.

3. The type of contact:

The frequency of contact, location of contact and type of activity involved might change.

Let us look at each of these characteristics of their friendship patterns separately, to see which changes did take place, and how satisfactory or unsatisfactory they were.

Relative importance of children as companions:

Most of the couples in the West End were, when compared to the usual American pattern close to their children. Most saw at least one of their children once a week or more, and most of the children were available when parents needed them. Since they had such close relationships with their children, a fairly large number of them moved into neighborhoods near the children. When asked the reasons for choosing their particular location, 26 of the couples stated that they had wanted to be near the children or that the children had found them apartments near their own.

Yet, when we checked to see how satisfied the couples were with this arrangement, we find that being near the children did not make a consistent difference in the comparative satisfaction level of the parents. Fewer of the couples who were near their children were unhappy. Yet, few were happy either. The major difference appears to be that those who live near children were more neutral or mixed about their surroundings than those who did not live near their children. The presence of children appears to ameliorate the effect of an unsatisfactory environment, but not, necessarily, to create a satisfactory environment. Comparing those near children with those who had no children, we see almost no difference. This apparent contradiction between the close relationship of the parents to children and the relatively minor effect the children have on the satisfaction of the parents can be explained if we look at our original data on the relationships between parents and children. Although all the relationships were close when compared to the



usual American pattern, we found in our preliminary study that there were differences in the content of different relationships. In the first report, we divided the different types of relationships into three forms.

TABLE XVIII SATISFACTION BY LOCATION  
NEAR CHILDREN

	Near Children	%	Not near	%	No children	%
Total	26		30		13	
Happy	9	34%	13	45%	4	33%
Neutral	12	46%	4	14%	6	50%
Unhappy	5	20%	12	41%	2	17%
Attitude unknown			1		1	

In the closest form, which we called the extended family, the children maintained the closest kind of contact with their parents. They saw their parents regularly during the week and had a relationship that involved both responsibility and companionship. Most commonly mother and daughter or father and son did chores together, helped each other when necessary and shared common experiences. This type of relationship satisfied all the needs of the parent-security, companionship and a sense of identification as parents or grandparents rather than of just an old man or old woman.

The second type, which we called the separate but close family, satisfied just the need for security and a slight amount of contact or association with the children but provided little companionship. In this type of family, the parents would see the children regularly on weekends but seldom during the week. The family bond that the children in these families felt, typically expressed itself in a sense of responsibility toward their parents. The children were always available when needed. However, when they saw their parents in normal circumstances they would generally "visit with" them rather than take part in common activities. In general, they tended to be a group whose interests were very different from those of their parents, but who still felt a family bond. For this reason they visited weekly but spent less time in common activities than the children in the "extended" families.

The third type, the separate family, provided none of the parents needs. In this group, the families saw the children very seldom (on holidays only, or an occasional visit) or never. Just a few of the children took any responsibility for their parents and the contact that existed was usually limited to infrequent social visits.

Only the first category of children spent time in activities with the parents. Since social contact around activities was so important to the majority of West Enders, the couples whose relationship with their children had no element of companionship would probably not want to live primarily with children, although they would not object to being nearby.

We correlated the satisfaction of those living near their children with the type of relationship they had sustained in the West End.

TABLE XIX RELATIONSHIP WITH CHILDREN BY SATISFACTION IN LIVING NEAR THEM

NO. NEAR CHILDREN	26			
<u>SATISFACTION</u>				
<u>LEVEL</u>	TOTAL	Extended	Separate/Close	Separate
Happy	9	7	2	-
Neutral	12	2	8	2
Unhappy	5	1	3	1
	<u>26</u>			

This table shows clearly that the closest couples were happy near their children. To the others, however, being near their children meant little. Most of them felt neutral or mixed about their new homes. Statements made by the couples while discussing the children would suggest that their reaction to their location in relation to their children as primarily a mixed one. They were happy to be near the children and liked the idea of being able to see them easily or call them in time of trouble; yet most felt that they and their children had different interests and lived in different worlds. They often stated that they lived too close to their children, therefore, they might be a continual burden on their children. One woman who was living in the same apartment with her daughter, wanted to move to another apartment so that her daughter would not feel obligated to spend time with her. She felt that she was seeing too much of her daughter, that both should be freer to lead separate lives. At the time of the interview, she was considering moving nearer to some friends who lived a few blocks away. Another widow whose sons lived across the street from her, learned that children, no matter how close, could not provide her with the companionship she needed. Her sons had appeared to be close when she was in the West End, for they came to visit her every week and took her out with them. Still, they could not take the place of friends, for they worked all day and could not spend all their time with her at night. She therefore, needed to have friends to keep her company. It was for such reasons that couples who were not very close to their children, and did not spend a great deal of time in common activities with them, found the children irrelevant as social companions. These couples were not satisfied just to live near children if that meant being away from friends.

This feeling of the irrelevancy of children as sources of social interest can be seen once again in a table which correlates the amount of social activity with satisfaction.

TABLE XX AMOUNT AND SOURCE OF SOCIAL ACTIVITY BY SATISFACTION

SATISFACTION  
LEVEL

AMOUNT AND SOURCE OF SOCIAL CONTACT

	<u>Medium amount</u> <u>or Little</u> <u>Contact</u>	<u>Great deal</u> <u>Mostly with</u> <u>children</u>	<u>Half Children</u> <u>Half relatives</u>	<u>Half Child.</u> <u>Mostly Friends</u>	Total
V. H.	-	-	1	10	11
S.	-	4	3	11	18
N.	4	8	6	3	21
U.	2	6	-	-	8
V. U.	9	-	-	-	9
	<u>15</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>24</u>	<u>67</u>
Unknown	1		1		<u>2</u>
					<u>69</u>

Those couples who had little social contact with anyone were of course the most unhappy and indicated the greatest amount of dissatisfaction with their new arrangements. They had usually been placed by the Redevelopment Authority (although in one case they had been placed by their children) in a neighborhood that contained few potential friends. As a result they had almost no social contact or very little contact, and that, primarily with children. The number faced with this situation, though, was comparatively small. Just under a quarter were faced with a substantial lack of contact.

In most cases, the children watched over their parents and tended to step up the frequency of their visits after the move. Therefore, few of the couples were left devoid of any companionship. Contact primarily with children, however, was not a satisfactory solution for the reasons mentioned above. The majority who had contact mainly with children, therefore, were either unhappy with the situation or neutral.

Going up the scale to those who had contact with children and relatives, and little or no contact with anyone else, we find none who were unhappy, yet few who were happy with the arrangements. This situation appeared to be similar to that of contact with children. Some of the relatives who lived nearby were friendly out of duty rather than out of a real feeling of companionship. This situation will be discussed later.

The most satisfactory situation seemed to be one in which the couples could see their children a great deal but also had friends of their own choosing around them with whom they could be friendly. Also included in the most satisfied group were a small number of couples who had little contact with their children but a great deal of contact with friends.

Summing up, it seems that children were able to contribute to the social lives of the parents only when they were very close and carried on common

activities together, keeping each other happy and busy. Otherwise, the differences between the generations, in the way of life, the interests and values meant that the parents needed friends of **their own** generation and interests to give them the companionship they needed. This situation existed in the West End but became even more obvious after the move when they no longer had familiar friends and activities to keep them busy and satisfied. Thus, the segment of society from which they sought their companionship, i.e. friends rather than children or relatives, remained the same.

Type of friend sought: The second possible change in friendship pattern was a change in the characteristics of the people who might suit them as friends.

In this respect again the needs of the couples remained fairly stable. Couples of all the sub-groups sought exactly the same type of friends both before and after the move. In fact, the degree to which the new friends had to be similar to the old, was spelled out even more specifically in the second study than it was in the first.

Characteristics sought in friends:

Both in the West End and out of it, the non-urban couples sought out people of the same age and ethnic group to be **their** friends. When they described the neighborhoods they lived in, the most common characteristics noted were the nationality and age composition of the new area. 43, or 69% of the non-urban group made spontaneous references to the age composition of their new neighborhood and 47, or 75% noted the presence or absence of a similar ethnic group. Among all but the Ukrainians, the presence of the "in-group" was noted with satisfaction, while its absence was noted primarily with active regret. The Ukrainians were less concerned with the presence or absence of other Ukrainians in their immediate area, for they had never lived in a large ethnic community. Instead, their comments generally concerned the distance from other Ukrainian friends and their ability to travel to see them. Whatever the specific comment, though, the majority of the less urbanized couples noted the age and ethnic composition of the new neighborhood.

TABLE XXI SATISFACTION BY COMMENTS ABOUT PRESENCE OR ABSENCE OF  
ETHNIC GROUP

Comment	NON-URBAN				URBAN	
	Ital. Jews, Poles		Ukrainian			
	Eth. Group Present	Eth. Group not present	Eth. Group Present	Eth. Group not present	Eth. Group Present	Eth. Group not present
Happy	20	-	2	1	1	-
Neutral	6	5	-	2	-	-
Unhappy	-	<u>11</u>	-	-	-	-
Total	26	16	2	3	1	-

The urban group, as in the West End, were not too concerned with the ethnic composition of their neighborhood. Only one woman, from Rome, who spoke English with difficulty, mentioned the presence of other Italians in Medford, but was happy they were not the "noisy North End type". The others said nothing about nationality. The characteristics of the friends sought by all the groups, then, seem to have remained essentially the same, for the qualities of the neighbors that they most commonly noted were the same qualities they had sought in friends when they were in the West End.

Though the majority of couples sought neighborhoods containing older people with the same background as their own, not all were successful. The effectiveness of their search for friends in the different types of neighborhoods and their comments on it throw some additional light on the reasons behind the need for people of the same age and background and the meaning of the relationship they had in the West End.

#### Meaning of the Need for People of the Same Background and Age:

In the West End, almost anyone of the same age and nationality could be considered a potential friend. Couples made specific choices of very close friends but tended to be acquainted with almost everyone within their sub-group. Age groups in the West End seldom mixed except within family bounds. Each generation had its own set of interests and friends and seldom had to meet.

Given this situation, if age and ethnic similarity automatically mean potential friendship, then all those couples who moved into neighborhoods containing people compatible in these respects, should a) be able to make new friends in the neighborhood more easily than others who are not in such neighborhoods; b) have more contact with friends than others. Since the amount of contact is associated with satisfaction, then c) these couples should be more satisfied than others. Second, we should assume that the less the new neighbors are compatible, the less these statements would hold. The one exception should be the Ukrainians who were used to maintaining contact outside the immediate neighborhood and therefore should be less affected by the neighborhood qualities than the others.

To check these possibilities, the neighborhoods into which the couples moved were divided in terms of their ages and ethnic group composition. The neighborhood was defined as a section including approximately a half mile radius around their apartment. This radius was chosen because it was the distance from the center of the West End to Haymarket Square, a distance they were used to travelling on foot. Information about institutions in the neighborhoods was taken from Planning Maps, printed and distributed by the Research Division of the United Community Services. These maps list and locate all social service institutions, recreation centers and churches in the city of Boston. To make a further check on the ethnic constitution of the areas, the author added a quick inspection of the local stores, churches, and the language spoken in the streets, the names listed on the doorbells and the ward listings for the area concerned. Age characteristics were determined from census data. The same treatment was given to sections outside Boston but in the Metropolitan area.

When we checked the level of satisfaction of the couples in each of these neighborhood types, we found that the second part of the statement held up. The less "compatible" the neighborhood, the less contact the couples had with people outside the family, the fewer friends they were able to make, and the more unhappy with the new surroundings they were. Those who moved into neighborhoods containing people of their own age and ethnic group had more contacts with people and were much more satisfied than the others.

TABLE XXIIa SATISFACTION BY TYPE OF NEIGHBORHOOD

Definition of Community types:

- Type 1 : Concentrated group of people of their own age and ethnic background.
- Type 2 : Small number of people compatible in age and background but not enough to develop or maintain a community life.
- Type 3 : Contains same ethnic group but composed primarily of younger people.
- Type 4 : Contains people of different ethnic background but of the same age level i.e. older people.
- Type 5 : Contains no compatible ingredients: almost no one of the same age or ethnic group.

Type of Neighborhood	Type 1	Type 2	Type 3	Type 4	Type 5
No. of Ital., Jewish and Polish couples	28	10	9	7	4
% of Couples able to make new friends	64%	30%	11%	-	-
% indicating they are happy or satisfied	64%	50%	22%	14%	-

TABLE XXIIb

Percentage of Individuals Having Contact with People  
Outside the Family  
 (Ital., Jewish and Polish Couples)

	Type 1	Type 2	Type 3	Type 4	Type 5
No. of women in group*	25	8	9	7	3
% having contact outside family	68%	20%	22%	-	-
No. of men in the group	20	9	9	4	4
% of men having contact outside family	70%	55%	33%	25%	25%

\*There were many couples in which either the man or the woman had died since the original interview.

The statement that couples who moved into neighborhoods containing their own nationality and age group would be most satisfied, most apt to make new friends and have more outside contacts than any others, though generally true, was not completely correct. There was a group of eight couples who lived in what we defined as a compatible neighborhood (same age and ethnic group in large numbers) yet were not able to make new friends, did not have much contact with people outside their families and were not happy in the new neighborhood.

Importance of status level on friendship potential:

Their comments on the neighborhood show that these people had moved to a neighborhood which contained a sub-group of their nationality that did not share their values and activity patterns. The couples stated, in the description, that the people in their section of the city were much "too quiet for them". The residents of their area did not meet casually on the streets as they themselves used to do in the West End. Neighborhood life was therefore much less visible to them. Since the new neighbors did not spend a great deal of time in the street and were not as "available" as the West End neighbors had been, the couples found them "hard to get to know". When asked if she had been able to make new friends, one of the women asked the interviewer "what do you do, go up to someone and just say hello, I'd like to meet you". She explained that she had been used to meeting people in the stores when, for example, they were standing with someone she already knew, or when they had to discuss some common problem with her. Without a friend or problem in common, she found it hard to meet new people. Another reported "No one stays in one place long enough for me to meet them. People here aren't sociable. They do what they have to do and go about their way".

On the other side of the ledger, the new neighbors were people who had moved out of the West End at an earlier date. Having moved out, they did not, in the opinion of the couples, seem eager to become friendly with West Enders who did not dress properly and whose activity pattern and value system not only differed from their own but reminded them of former days. This invidious comparison between West Enders and the "host" group was specifically mentioned by some of the respondents: "Some of the people here call us West End trash"; "We can't keep up with the people in this neighborhood".

The distinction between the old and the new residents was also partly an economic one; few of the West Enders, in general, joined clubs in the new neighborhoods. Since one of the neighborhoods containing the more assimilated group had a Golden Age Club, some of the women tried to join. They soon felt very uncomfortable in this club, both because they did not know how to approach the other members, and felt rejected by them and because they felt they could not afford the informal expenses involved in membership (buying nice clothes, giving money to the causes that interested the club, etc.)

From the comments of the individuals and the differences in activity pattern, it would appear that our original analysis which divided the communities in terms of simple demographic variables (age and ethnic background) left out the very important though less obvious factor of class level. Among the older

West End couples, this factor happened to be related to the degree of assimilation to the dominant urban pattern. People of different class or assimilation levels have different leisure-time patterns and hold different values, both of which make them somewhat incompatible despite the fact that they might be of the same background. Though left out of the original analysis, this factor showed up in the spontaneous comments of the couples and was revealed to underlie the relationship between the West End couples and those who lived in a similar but "higher status" community.

The differential effect of living in a community of the same level and in a higher level community is shown very strikingly in the following table. Both groups had originally been combined into Type 1 of the preceding tables. For the rest of this report we will call the more compatible community, Type 1c, and the higher status community Type 1h.

TABLE XXIII

	TYPE 1c SAME STATUS	TYPE 1h HIGHER STATUS
Total number of couples	20	8
Make new friends	85%	12%
% Happy or Satisfied	90%	-

The difference in interest, values and activity patterns which separated the different status groups of the same background, played a role in the comparative lack of satisfaction the couples felt when they had contact only with children and relatives. We noted before that the children who were not close were usually those who lived a different life and had different interests, while those who were close had interests that coincided with those of their parents. In addition, in the West End, there were some indications of the selectivity of the couples in their contacts with relatives - i.e., one couple felt that the North End wing of the family "belonged in the North End and they had nothing to do with them." On the other side there were those who said that the Medford and Dorchester branch felt too good for them and were therefore seldom seen. It was this felt difference between members of the same family who lived in different neighborhoods and represented different life patterns that accounted for much of the neutral feeling of couples who had to spend much of their time with relatives.

It was also these differences that had separated the age groups in the West End and continued to do so afterwards. Those living in neighborhoods containing people of the same ethnic background but of younger age groups, generally found those neighbors "too quiet", felt that the people "stay to themselves" and "felt nothing in common with younger people - young kids". In these neighborhoods they felt no criticism from the neighbors primarily because they themselves did not attempt to become friendly. They felt that the younger neighbors, with few exceptions which will be discussed later, were not potential friends for them.



The section of the city containing younger members of their nationality were an assimilation "step above" the West End. Thus, the couples who had relatives in those neighborhoods were usually not friendly with them, for since these sections were the "next logical step for most of their ethnic group, usually the relatives who had moved in before them were socially more mobile. Even when contact was maintained (often out of a social or family duty) therefore, they continued to feel uncomfortable with the particular relatives. On the other hand, those couples who moved into compatible neighborhoods, often maintained a great deal of contact with both relatives and friends, enjoying the relationship with both. These relatives who lived in similar neighborhoods tended themselves to be similar to the couples, thus their friendship.

What we are noticing here is a tendency for people of the same assimilation level of a nationality group to choose to live together in the same neighborhood<sup>1</sup>. People of the same generation, both kin and friends, are all subject to the same influences; therefore, if it is customary for people to "sort themselves out" geographically, relatives will be likely to do so as well as friends.

On the basis of these findings, we should expand our earlier statement that "friendships were made among peers of similar background" to say it was similarity in interests, leisure-time patterns and the values they placed on these activities (often buttressed by ability to pay for the valued object or activity) that created the potentiality for friendship. To a group such as the West Enders, who are so immersed in all-embracing culture, the assimilation level of the people they have contact with, is of distinct importance. Thus, children who had the same interests (home, children, job, etc.) were close to their parents and spent a great deal of time with them. Those whose values had changed tended to see less of their parents. So, also, those neighbors and relatives who spent time outside talking, visited casually, and put little stress on formal visiting became friendly with the couples; while others who were formal or critical of older ways, were too different to become friends.

This discussion has been based on the general comments made by the couples about their neighborhood. When we turn to the relationship these couples had with their neighbors, we can see all the above points on a more intimate level.

#### Contact with neighbors:

During the interview, each couple was asked about his neighbors, his relations with them and the reasons for the type of relationship. Here, as in their comments about the neighborhood, we find that the simple association between age and ethnic similarity and friendship broken down.

<sup>1</sup>. For a discussion of this point see Walter Firey, Land Use In Central Boston, Cambridge, Harvard University Press 1947

TABLE XXIV

RELATIONSHIP WITH NEIGHBORS BY AGE AND ETHNIC GROUP  
CHARACTERISTICS OF NEIGHBORS  
(Italian, Jewish and Polish Couples)

Characteristics of  
the neighbor

	FRIENDLY	UNFRIENDLY	TOTAL*	% FRIENDLY
Eth. Gr. Similar; Age Similar	17	10	27	63%
Eth. Gr. Similar; Age Difference	7	9	16	44%
Eth. Gr. Diff.; Age Similar	2	3	5	40%
Eth. Gr. Diff.; Age Difference	1	15	16	6%

\* Duplicated count - more than one neighbor was often described.

As we noted before, the presence of foreign neighbors did stifle friendship potential. 21 of the couples mentioned having neighbors in their buildings that were of different backgrounds. Just three were friendly with these neighbors; the rest had little to do with them. In the West End, years of proximity had created a feeling of familiarity and acceptance of neighbors who were different. In the new apartments, there was no relationship at all.

However, similarity of age and background was not enough to promote friendly relations. When we look at TABLE XXIV, we find that 10 of the 27 couples who had neighbors of similar age and nationality were not friendly with them. The comments of the couples suggest that, as we noted before, differences in interests and activity account for the lack of friendship in most cases.

Personal reasons accounted for the antipathy to just three of the neighbors. In one case, the couple had been friendly with their present neighbor while they were still living in the West End, had bought the building adjacent to the friend's home on his recommendation, had then had an argument and become estranged. In another, the neighbor was, according to our informant "crazy"; while in the third, a widower whose wife had been very ill in the West End was afraid to become friendly with a woman next door who was also very ill. He felt he had been tied down for too long and had no desire to be bothered with anyone else.

The majority, however, were unfriendly because the neighbors rejected their overtures. These were couples who were living in "higher status" neighborhoods and who commented bitterly on the lack of friendliness of the original residents. Their neighbors were "snobby" they said, and had no desire to be friendly with "West End trash". They acted superficially pleasant but avoided any conversation and kept to themselves.

When interests and activity patterns coincided, friendship followed. The 17 friendly neighbors of the same background and age were all in neighborhoods similar in status to the West End. These neighbors, according to our informants stood and talked to our couples in the hall, sat with them outside the buildings, or invited them into their apartments for coffee (this last

was a slight change from the West End pattern). As in the West End, these neighbors were interested in talking to them and maintaining continual contact. Thus there was little friction, except possibly personal friction, between the couples and these neighbors, for they had a common pattern of socializing that was satisfying to both. As a result, friendship followed.

Turning now to the couples who lived next to younger neighbors of the same nationality, we find that more than half of them were not friendly with the younger neighbors. Yet, there were seven who were very friendly.

An examination of the comments offered by the couples about these "younger friends" indicated that once again agreement on values and life patterns determined the potentiality for friendship. All those who were friendly with younger neighbors described their relationship in terms that clearly resembled the parent-child relationship. In most cases, the wife in the young couple spent a great deal of time helping the older couple; shopping for them, helping the older woman with laundry and physically difficult activity such as reaching for food on high shelves, helping one woman care for a bedridden husband, and other such assistance. In the process, they would spend a great deal of time with one another. In one case, a young couple with a large family became friendly with a widower who lived upstairs. The children would come upstairs to play as they would with a grandfather, and the couple came to look after the older man every day. The relationship between the young neighbors and the older couples was like the parent-child relationship in one other way also. Like the respondents who were close to their children while in the West End, these couples also had older friends with whom they spent a great deal of time, for in all cases they lived in neighborhoods whose pattern resembled the West End.

The nine who were unfriendly with their younger neighbors lived in more "middle class" neighborhoods where the younger people lived a less communal life. Since they did not help the older couple in their daily affairs, they had little in common with them, and seldom ever saw them.

Thus it would appear that the type of friends that the West Enders sought remained the same. When they were able to find neighborhoods containing a compatible group, they were able to make friends and felt satisfied. However, when they lived in neighborhoods that had either people of totally different background, or people of a different status level (who were wealthier or more assimilated) then they had difficulty making friends and were less satisfied with their new arrangements.

The type of friendships sought by the Ukrainian and urban couples could not be determined by their reactions to their communities, for they were not, on the whole, as tied to the local community as the other three nationalities. Only two of the urban group moved to communities containing people of their own background. The rest of the urban couples and all of the Ukrainians moved into "foreign" communities containing no one of their background. They were, however, less affected by the characteristics of the neighborhoods than the others.

TABLE XXV SATISFACTION BY TYPE OF COMMUNITY (Ukrainian and Urban)

	Type 1	Type 2	Type 3	Type 4	Type 5
No. in community	-	-	2	3	6
Happy or Satisfied	-	-	2	3	4

Their spontaneous comments about their neighborhoods and their reasons for moving to that particular neighborhood, however, show the trend of their thinking. The main concern of the Ukrainians was their ability to travel from their new homes to the church and to their old friends in the Ukrainian community. These friends were the same as the ones they had in the West End. The only couple whose pattern of friendships changed somewhat was one in which the wife became very friendly with all of the West Enders who had moved into the project (the Charlestown project) with her. This woman found a common bond with all of them regardless of background. She was, however, an exception to the general rule. Generally, the Ukrainians were a little friendlier to neighbors of other backgrounds than other groups. Two couples of the five were friendly with neighbors of different backgrounds but they too reserved "real friendship" for "their own".

The urban group, as before, appeared to be more concerned with activities in and of themselves, than with the people involved. Two of the couples were members of clubs which offered specific activities of interest to them, two spent time keeping check on a relative's store, while a fifth couple spent their time observing the activities of the children in one of the housing projects, and watching T.V. The last was too ill to be concerned with activities. The only mention of interest in the social composition of the neighborhood was the relief indicated by one Italian couple that the "Italians in Medford were not as noisy as those in the North End."

Putting together all we have stated until now, it appears that the overall orientation of the group remained very stable. The urban couples remained interested in activity rather than friends. To the non-urban group, friends rather than activities continued to be the important source of interest, before and after the move; though the children stepped up their contact with parents as a result of the crisis, parents continued to prefer not to lean on children for friendship but to be able to make friends on their own; and the range of friends sought still fell within the bounds of nationality. If they were to maintain the continuous casual contact that they wanted, based on shared, common interests, they had to have friends (old or new) who spoke the same language, who placed the same value on specific activities and who were willing to accept the couples as friends. These were the standards by which they judged both the West End and the new arrangements. Those who found these qualities were satisfied and those who did not were not.

#### Activity Pattern

Circumstances, however, did not remain the same for the whole group, and changes in their lives came about of necessity. Though the qualities and standards which they sought remained the same, they could not always find circumstances to suit them.

Under this stress did they change their activities or just drop them? If they did change their activities, in what direction did the change go? How satisfactory were the changes?

Let us look first at the old pattern to determine the underlying needs and then at the new patterns to see what changes, if any, took place. The questions to be answered will be 1. In the changed circumstances did they change their activities or merely drop the old ones? 2. If they changed them, which did they change? 3. In what direction did the change go? 4. How satisfactory was the change.

Meaning of the original activity pattern: In the West End, we said, the majority of couples, with the exception of the urban, seldom engaged in activity purely for its own sake. Most activities had a social component that made them meaningful to the couples. This need for social contact during the normal daily routine was a basic need of the older couples in the West End.

The other side of relationship we noted earlier in a quote from Herbert Gans' book "The Urban Villagers". In it, he stated that the social activities themselves were most satisfying when they were not "pure", that is, when they were part of other activities. Few invitations were given to friends to visit at home; most socializing was done outside. The situation that was most meaningful to them was a mixed situation, gossiping with the neighbors while shopping, meeting them while going to Mass, talking with friends in the barber shops. By indulging in this type of activity they were able to have the kind of contact most desired: continual contact which was not intense with a large number of their compatriots.

The basic need of all except the urban can be best described as the need to feel themselves an integral part of an ethnic community with which they could have daily contact. Their routine activities - - housekeeping, working, church-going - - were important to them precisely because they were defined by the culture as respected activities and also provided them with an accepted method of meeting with others. Both companionship and respect were an integral part of the activities.

In the West End, it was possible to develop this pattern. The friends and acquaintances of the Jewish and Italian couples generally lived in the neighborhood, shopped in the same ethnic stores, met in similar "hangouts", and sat outside their homes which were en route to the individual's daily activities. As a result, they were easily available every day. While in the West End, therefore, most of the Italian and Jewish couples had friendly contact with someone, neighbors or friends every day. Most of this contact took place outside the homes but in the neighborhood.

Since there were fewer Poles and Ukrainians in the West End, they visited at home more commonly than the other two groups. The Ukrainians, whose church

was located outside the West End, in Roslindale, were used to travelling both to go to church and to visit friends who lived all over the city.

Effect of the move on the women's activities:

The changed circumstances affected the activity pattern of the women drastically. After the move, most of the couples no longer lived in neighborhoods where friends were so easily available. About half lived with people whom they variously described as "too quiet", "snobby", "people they could not understand" or just "outsiders". Many had moved into comparatively compatible neighborhoods. However, very few had actually moved into neighborhoods that contained enough people of their own type to be constantly available as they were in the West End. The majority of women, therefore, had to give up their old pattern of meeting friends casually on the street.

Having given up their old pattern, most of the women did not replace it with a new one. Faced with decreasing resources for social contact, most just reduced the number and frequency of their contacts, and some retreated into a fairly isolated life. Only 19 of the women were able to maintain daily contacts after the move.

TABLE XXVI FREQUENCY OF WOMEN'S SOCIAL CONTACTS BY NEIGHBORHOOD TYPE

	NON-URBAN(including Ukrainians)				URBAN	
	Type 1c Compatible	Types 2 and 3 Semi-compatible	Types 4 and 5 Incompatible	Type 1h High Status	Types 1 and 2 Ten.	Types 3 and 4
No. couples	20	19	16	8	63	6
No. Women	18	17	15	7	57	6
3-5 x wk.	15	3	-	-	18	-
1-2 x wk.	2	7	-	-	9	2
2 x mo.	1	4	-	-	5	-
1 x mo.	-	3	5	3	11	-
5-6 x yr.	-	-	2	1	3	-
Seldom,						
Never	-	-	8	3	11	2

Both the degree of reduction and the quality of it differed with the type of neighborhood the couples lived in. Let us look at the degree of change and the quality of the change in the different neighborhoods.

The two groups that were most accustomed to having a complete community around them were the Italians and Jews. As a result, those Italian and Jewish women who were relocated to completely foreign neighborhoods, containing no one of the same ethnic group and no ethnic institutions near them, found it almost impossible to adjust their old interests. To them, these were areas which contained no potential friends, no familiar stores and nothing familiar to "hold on to". In such neighborhoods, a few women maintained very scattered contacts, and most had no social activities at all.

There were eight Italian and Jewish women living in completely incompatible neighborhoods. As we said, a few of them were able to maintain some scattered

contact. Rather than give up social contacts completely, three Italian women who lived in a Charlestown housing project, which was within a 15 minute bus ride to Haymarket Square, went back to the North End every once in a while. About once a month they would go there to church, to see friends and to shop in a familiar environment. For these women, the nearness of the North End was the one saving feature about their new environment.

The other five women, who either were physically unable to travel to the North End, or had no equivalent ethnic meeting place, engaged in no social activities at all. One woman worked all day and spent the evening just relaxing. The others merely stayed home. When they did go outside their homes, it was only to shop in their unfamiliar, inhospitable shopping areas where they could do no socializing.

Three of the women appeared to be completely unable to cope with the new situation. At the time of the interview, one had not gone outside the apartment for many months.<sup>1</sup> Her husband had died and she had found herself completely alone, with no neighbors who spoke her language and no place to go. Her days were spent sleeping, mourning for her husband, and waiting for a nephew to bring her groceries. She had never put her furniture in place. As a result, her apartment appeared bare with just a kitchen table and a desk in the living room containing pictures of her nieces and nephews. She would stare at these pictures for hours when she was not sleeping. The two other women, whose husbands were alive, spent their time either with their husbands or sitting alone. When not cooking or cleaning, they would just sit at the window, crying or just looking. One of the husbands insisted that his wife spent all day crying in bed. "When the children come she perks up", he said, "but as soon as they go, she goes into the bedroom and cries again or stares out the window." These three women had been living in their new apartments for a little over a year at the time of the interview. The shock of the surroundings was so great, however, that they were completely unable to make a normal adjustment.

A similar but less drastic fate befell five of the seven women who lived in "higher status" neighborhoods. They had tried to make friends when they had arrived: two had gone to the Golden Age club nearby and had felt rejected; and the others had tried more informal methods with the same result. At the time of the interview, therefore, they had resigned themselves to a pattern of walking around the neighborhood, or sitting in the usual meeting places (the nearby park and a restaurant) just to feel the activity around them and have something to do with themselves. Most of the social activity of these couples was confined to their families, and contact with others in the neighborhood was almost nil. However, the setting and institutional environment was familiar enough to cushion the shock and make them relatively more satisfied than the women who lived in totally strange surroundings.

1. A neighbor who lived next to this woman gave me this information and added that she had never spoken to the woman, for they could not understand one another.

In the neighborhoods that contained some familiar and some unfamiliar elements, i.e., containing younger people of the same ethnic background (type 3) or containing a few compatible people in an otherwise unfamiliar setting (type 2) there was a change in pattern rather than a complete cessation of social activity. The new pattern bore a resemblance to the one developed by the people who lived in the higher status neighborhood. In Medford, for example, which has an Italian neighborhood and has a thriving shopping center, the women were able to spend time shopping, looking in the windows and talking to the storekeepers. Sometimes they were casually friendly with their immediate neighbors, but at best it was a superficial relationship.

Since the women in the semi-compatible neighborhoods did not get much social gratification from their new neighbors or from shopping, they had to turn to visiting old friends in their homes, something they had preferred not to do while they were in the West End. Those who had friends nearby would visit fairly often, though less often than they did in the West End. Others went outside of their immediate neighborhoods to visit when they could. In some cases, they were able to visit outside the neighborhood because their children lived near them and were willing to act as chauffeurs. (The presence of children in the vicinity was often the reason for the choice of these particular neighborhoods). The ability to visit outside the neighborhood was fairly limited, though, for most were not used to travelling by public transportation and those who depended on children could not go as often as they would have liked. This will be discussed later in the section on mobility.

In addition to visiting, the women in the semi-compatible neighborhoods also sought out common places such as the North End whenever they could. Two of the women who were very energetic went back to the North End by bus every day. Three others went less often, travelling with children, relatives or friends. In order of frequency, therefore, we could say that the new pattern of the women in the semi-compatible neighborhoods contained:

Walking around the neighborhood shopping center	- 7 women
Visiting friends at home	- 6
Visiting in the neighborhood	- 3
Visiting outside	- 4
Seeing people casually in the North End	- 5
Social contact primarily with the family	- 3
Almost no social contact	- 2

There were 14 women ( Italian and Jewish ) living in the semi-compatible neighborhood.

## II. Summary of the effect of the move on the women:

Looking at the effect of the move on the women who lived in neighborhoods which were not familiar - both those in the completely foreign and those in the semi-compatible neighborhoods, we can say that these women faced a complete disruption of the old pattern of casual, continual contacts around everyday activities. Those in totally foreign neighborhoods changed their



pattern to include deliberately planned contacts with familiar people, and specially planned trips to a familiar neighborhood.

Turning to those who moved into the compatible neighborhoods, we find that even in these neighborhoods, there was some change in the way they spent their time. The change was not drastic as it was in the other neighborhoods but there was a slight change. Basically, their life was very similar to their old life. They spent a great deal of time in and around the neighborhoods with old friends who lived nearby, with any new acquaintances they had been able to make, and with neighbors who were generally quite friendly. Still, even they knew fewer people in the new environment and were less able to meet friends without plan than they used to be in the West End. Therefore, in order to maintain social contact, they too, were somewhat more willing to visit and be visited at home by non-relatives than they had been in the West End.

Though many women used visiting their friends at home as a solution to the problem of lack of potential contact, it was not very satisfactory to the Italians or Jews in any of the neighborhoods mentioned. Most indicated that great strain attended this kind of socializing.

#### Analysis of the effect of the move on the women:

To put their comments in the perspective of their lives while in the West End, let us look again at the results already described. We noted that the interests and behavior patterns of older people were fairly stable. Any new activity engaged in tended to be of a type that was familiar to them though not necessarily commonly engaged in beforehand. Their comments suggest that if the change is to be satisfactory, it has to be capable of serving either the same needs as the old pattern or some dormant need already existent.

Looking back at their old needs, we find that the Italian and Jewish women did not, as a whole, like to entertain at home. Since the folk tradition emphasized "hospitality" (the serving of food) to guests, and most of the couples were poor, they preferred to meet friends outside the home. In addition, the interviews were given while in the West End suggested an interesting relationship between their desire to be friendly with everyone in their sub-community and a desire not to become too friendly with any one individual. Intimacy that was too indiscriminate, it seems would leave them open to gossip. Gossip was associated with visiting at home. "I'm not the kind of woman that sticks her nose into other people's business" (i.e., visits at home), they would say. "I stay home and don't sit gossiping about the other women over coffee" or "I don't like it if the women around here bother me all the time, I have my own business at home".

Yet, they wanted to have contact with people every day. Informal, casual contacts around everyday activities was therefore the most satisfying form of activity, for it allowed them to see friends every day without having to develop a very intense relationship unless they wished to do so.

Because of their desire for frequent contact and non-intimate contact, the change in their pattern from socializing outside to visiting friends at home

was not a satisfying change. First, formal visiting occurred much less frequently than casual contact, for if people could be seen only after a decision had been made and a special effort made to walk over to the apartment or arrange for transportation, the number of contacts with people had to be cut substantially.

Second, contact had to be limited to good friends. No specific question was asked about the effect of continuing contact at home with friends, but spontaneous comments made by some of the respondents indicated that frequent contact with one individual was usually considered by the host to be a strain psychologically. She could not get away from her guest. At home, as hostess, she had to pay all her attention to the visitor instead of being able to divide her attention between shopping and talking; and the termination of contact had to be the decision of the guest or the hostess instead of coming naturally at the end of a shopping trip. Friends who visited at home, therefore, had to be good friends.

Finally, of course, too much hospitality meant a financial strain for those couples whose expenses had gone up after the move and whose incomes had either remained the same or declined.

Thus, to compensate for the loss of casual contact, the women turned to a familiar activity, the home visit. However, this activity was not satisfactory, even though familiar, for it was unable to satisfy two other needs - continual contact and avoidance of undesirable intimacy - and created expenses.

Summing up the changes experienced by the groups that were bound the closest to the West End, we find that when put in new surroundings, they tried to duplicate the old casual social pattern. If they were living in similar surroundings with people who were used to the same type of activity as they had been, then they spent their time as they had always done - in contacts with friends in the stores and outside the homes. Missing a sufficient number of friends to have frequent contacts, they adjusted their old pattern somewhat to include visiting at home; yet this constituted a strain for them.

In the neighborhoods which contain some familiar features (people of the same background but not the same age; a few of the same age and background) they again sought the outside meeting place, using familiar resources such as the shopkeeper when facilities but not a sufficient quantity of friends were available, or they travelled to an established center such as in the North End. These makeshift central meeting places gave them social contact but on a very infrequent basis. A few of them, therefore, tried to supplement their activities by visiting.

The group most affected were those in totally foreign neighborhoods, even those containing others of the same age. Some who lived in the Charlestown project tried to get to the North End to visit and shop as often as possible, finding the easy access to the North End the only saving grace of the neighborhood. Others, finding nothing familiar, just retreated into their homes.

Both the substitutes tried by the couples - - visiting and travelling to common meeting places - - were unable to meet their need for daily contact. In addition, the visiting put a strain on the individual. Neither, therefore, were really satisfactory but were merely filling a void.

Effect of the move on the Polish Women: The Polish community in the West End was somewhat less cohesive than that of the Jews and Italians. Their community was small, they had no ethnic stores in the neighborhood, and their church had been located in the West End only a few years at the time of re-location. Having just a few of their countrymen and no ethnic institutions in the neighborhood was therefore, a familiar situation for them.

Thus the one woman who moved into a neighborhood which had many Polish people in it as well as some old friends of hers, preferred her new situation to the West End. Though she was ill, she had immediately become friendly with her neighbors. As a result, someone came to see her very frequently. Either her friends or the neighbors came to see her at least a short time every day. Her experience was thus similar to the experiences of the Italian and Jewish women who were living in compatible communities.

The three women who had moved to neighborhoods containing a small number of Poles in a basically "foreign" community were in circumstances similar to those they had had in the West End. Most of them had moved into the communities on the recommendation of friends. They were, therefore, in neighborhoods that were familiar to them from the past contact, and all had friends that were not too far away.

Like the minority sub-groups in the West End, the Poles who had been living in the communities before the West Enders came had created a set of common meeting places for themselves. The three women who had moved into these communities found it easy to use these resources to meet people, for they were the same as the sources they had used in the West End. One grouping of meeting places was located around or near food stores. In one case it was a playground located across the street from a duplex of stores; in another, a triangle containing benches in the middle of a shopping area. The two women who were living near enough to walk to these areas would go to shop and meet friends about once a week. The rest of the week they would shop nearer home. The second meeting place was the church. All of them lived only a short bus ride or a long walk away from a Polish church. It is interesting that another meeting place used by a few couples was the North End. Two of the women said they met friends there when they went. However, they could not go often.

In addition, they would visit friends who were outside, but not far outside their immediate area. Their reaction to the visiting was somewhat like the other non-urban but not as drastic. Though they did not indicate that the visits themselves were a strain on them, they did not visit often, at most once every two or three weeks.

The three women in the completely incompatible neighborhoods, on the other hand, had very infrequent contact with their friends. One widow who was living with her son and who was very religious, happened to live near a church

that gave three masses a day. Though the masses were in English, she enjoyed attending all three masses every day. Her only other activity was shopping, and both were not accompanied by any socializing. In her case, the deep religious satisfaction and the company of her son was satisfactory. The other two women found no solace in their new homes. They were unhappy with their neighbors and too far away from Polish churches or friends to go often. Therefore, their only contact with friends occurred infrequently when they were able to go to church or to visit at home. This generally occurred once a month or less.

In the neighborhoods that were most compatible and least compatible, the reactions of the Poles were similar to the reactions of the Italians and Jews. In the compatible areas, they made an easy adjustment to a friendly pattern, in the foreign neighborhoods they made a feeble attempt to develop formal contact which was not satisfactory. In the semi-compatible neighborhoods, the Polish group fared better than the others, for their compatriots had set up familiar resources for them - meeting places around shopping and church, and they knew some of the people whom they met in these places.

Turning to the Ukrainians and the urban group, we find that the change in their living patterns was not as drastic. When in the West End, Ukrainians were used to going outside the West End to visit friends and church. In the new neighborhoods, therefore, they did not react to the limited potentialities for social contact as the others had done. The new situation was very similar to the one that had existed in the West End. Most of them had a friend or two within easy travelling distance with whom they would spend some time. One was visited about once a week by these friends. The rest went themselves to visit their friends. In addition to visiting their closer friends, the Ukrainians had always maintained a friendly if not close relationship with the other nationality groups in the West End. In the new neighborhoods, therefore, they found it easier to do the same thing. Most of them were very happy to spend a little time with their immediate neighbors and were satisfied with a more superficial relationship than they maintained with their own compatriots.

Like the Ukrainians, the urban group confined their social interest to individual friends, and were not limited by the immediate area around them. Their locational preferences were not dictated by social motives; they had generally chosen their present apartments because of proximity to a job, the need for low rent, and satisfaction with any first floor apartment, or the need to be near a son because of illness. Once they moved, they spent most of their time in individual activities, shopping in town, sitting and watching people around them or the TV, or watching the relative's store. The two who engaged in any social activity were both involved in special interest groups, not the neighbors. All of these activities were almost exactly the same as the ones they were used to in the West End.

Neither group actually changed its pattern very drastically as a result of the move. Since they had never made the demands on their environment that the other three groups had done, they found the new circumstances not very

different from the old and consequently were able to make use of their old activity patterns to adjust to the new. As a result they felt more comfortable in their new homes and generally indicated more satisfaction with it than the others did.

# Effect of the Move on the Activity Patterns of the Men:

The husbands of these women were much more capable of adapting to new environments than their wives. The lives of the men had not always revolved completely around activities within the confines of the West End, and they were used to meeting a greater variety of people. They therefore had an easier time adjusting to each of the different communities. Many men changed their activities when necessary; few curtailed them to the extent that the women did.

TABLE XXVII FREQUENCY OF MEN'S SOCIAL CONTACTS BY NEIGHBORHOOD TYPE

	NON-URBAN(including Ukrainians)				URBAN	
	Type 1c Compatible	Types 2 and 3 Semi-compatible	Types 4 and 5 Incompatible	Type 1h High Status	TOT.	Types 4 and 5 Incompatible
No. couples	20	19	16	8	53	6
No. men	14	17	15	6	52	5
3-5 x wk.	11	5	1	2	19	-
1-2 x wk.	2	3	3	2	10	1
2 x mo.	1	6	5	1	13	1
1 x mo.	-	2	1	-	3	-
5-6 x yr.	-	1	3	1	5	1
Seldom,						
Never	-	-	3	-	3	1

In the compatible communities where there was no need for adjustment, the Italian and Jewish men tended to congregate around local versions of their old meeting places - outside the barber shop, local restaurant, at the temple or just in the street. 10 of the 14 men in these communities spent their time in this way. Just a few men visited friends in the neighborhood. These were generally people who were particularly close, and the visit itself was usually either an evening visit or a prelude to some outside activity.

When the men had specific interests that were not possible to find in the new area, they were more willing to travel than the women. Two of the men whose union activities could not be transferred to the new community, continued to go back to the union meeting hall in the center of Boston, even though they were some distance away; another three kept up friendships with old associates who were not nearby.

A willingness to travel made adjustment easier for the men who lived in neighborhoods that did not contain familiar or friendly people. Men in such areas (both the semi-compatible and incompatible areas) replaced their old pattern with a definitely mobile one. Whenever they were within reasonable travelling distance of the familiar meeting place, they would go back fairly often.

Otherwise, they would go to visit friends.

Another factor easing the adjustment of the men was their ability to become friendly with a greater variety of people. Often, they could find acquaintances in the semi-compatible neighborhoods with whom to spend some time. Often they would walk around the neighborhood doing errands for their wives. If they spent enough time in or around one part of the neighborhoods, they would often begin to recognize other men who were there either working or spending time as they were, and would begin to spend time with them. The men found it easier to engage in this kind of extremely casual conversation than the women.

It is interesting to note in this respect that the status differences which affected the ability of the women to find friends did not affect the men with the same intensity. The incoming West End men shared more interests with their new neighbors than their wives did. Both groups of men enjoyed spending time outside the home in various neighborhood meeting places: the stores, the local park, the temple. (Women residents of the same area not only spent less time than the West End women in the neighborhood spots, but they looked down on the newcomers for wanting to do so).<sup>1</sup>

The men, therefore, had many opportunities to meet. In addition, the West End men and their neighbors found another common bond in that many had worked in similar businesses or industries. Thus, the West End men were more successful in making new friends than were the women.

When we look at the Ukrainians and urban men, we find that their pattern did not change at all from the one they had maintained in the West End. They had always either visited friends at home or had met friends in church outside the West End or in club activities. In their new communities they did the same.

#### Summary: of the effect of the move:

In this section we have been concerned with the first three items in our outline: (1) the relative importance of the security needs and the overall leisure orientation to the kind of housing needed by the West Enders, (2) the stability of the highly social leisure orientation of the West Enders in changed circumstances and (3) the relation of the changes that did take place to the overall orientation of the individual.

As to the first item, we found that the desire for social contact was the major factor in determining the kind of housing the West Enders needed. The comparative health of the couples plus the existence of a dependable source of assistance in the children combined to make security a need that could be satisfied more easily than others.

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1. The women in the new neighborhood, according to our informants, appeared consistently to be more status conscious than the men and less willing to associate with a group that they considered "less assimilated" or "lower class".

In view of this, the way in which they spent their leisure time, an interest which affected the major portion of their lives was the more salient problem to them. In specific terms, their major concern was the presence of compatible people in their neighborhood. The availability of potential friends was the quality sought in all neighborhoods and was the determining factor in their satisfaction level.

As to item two, the way they chose to spend their time (their leisure orientation) was very stable. They needed continual casual contacts both before and after the move. In addition, they sought the same type of friend. People of the same age and background who had the same interests and values as they did, were generally the only possible sources of friendship. These requirements eliminated children, relatives who were more assimilated than they were, and unrelated people whose interests differed.

There were differences among the different ethnic groups and between men and women in the variety of people whom they would find compatible. Generally, however, the more flexible the individual was in the West End, the more flexible he would be later; the less flexible in the West End, the less flexible later.

As to item three, it appears that if a new activity is to be an adequate substitute it has to be familiar to them and satisfy the same needs that the old activities did. The change that actually came about in the activity pattern of the women (visiting at home) was not satisfactory to the majority of the women, precisely because it created a strain and did not satisfy their basic needs for frequent and casual contact.

In the next section, we turn to the last part of our original outline, the section concerned with the mobility of the couples themselves and of people important to them.

### MOBILITY

The last step in our outline for describing the housing characteristics that will satisfy any particular group is the determination of the effect of distance on their ability to maintain desired contact. In this section we wish to describe where the important persons or institutions must be located if they are to be within grasp of the older individuals. This information cannot tell us how close the individuals should live to the important person or place; reasons other than ability to communicate might dictate close location. It does, however, tell us which individuals or institutions should not be too far away if contact is to be possible.

The three facets of an individual's potential ability to maintain contact with a distant person or object were listed in the first section of this report. To repeat, they were: (1) the physical agility of the individual concerned, (2) the customary location and frequency of contact, (3) the ability to command suitable transportation.

### Mobility of Children:

The first concern was the effect of location on the amount of contact between parents and children. In the West End, we noted that the frequency with which parents saw their children was the result of personal factors. Distance played a very small part in determining frequency of contact. Children who wished to be close to their parents tended to see them at least once a week, usually more often, regardless of where they lived. Those who did not see them quite as often, did not, even when they were living in the same neighborhood. The only exceptions to this rule were the children who lived far outside the Metropolitan Boston area or out of state.

Underlying these facts, was the mobility of the children, Since they were physically capable of travelling by car or mass transportation, moderate distances did not constitute a major obstacle to them. The sole effect of distance was to make daily visiting difficult for children who did not live near the West End. Those who were psychologically close to parents, but lived too far away to come daily, tended to visit once or twice a week. Thus, if a family wished to keep in touch with one another, distance merely reduced the frequency slightly; it did not exert any important influence over their actions.

On the basis of the demonstrated mobility of the children, we felt that if parents were located near public transportation (all within Metropolitan Boston were so located) and within reasonable commuting distance (not more than an hour), the frequency with which they saw their children would not be decreased by any appreciable amount. Most of the children would probably continue the same rate of visiting after the move that they had maintained before. The only decrease, we felt, would occur among those who had lived near parents in the West End but then had to move away to a different neighborhood. These children would find it difficult to continue to visit every day and would of necessity reduce the number of visits to around once a week.

Our expectation turned out to be too conservative. Table XXVIII showing the actual contact of each of the 69 couples with its closest child before and after the move shows that instead of remaining the same, contact between parents and their closest children increased in the aggregate. In the West End, a little over a third of the couples who had children, saw at least one of their children during the week or every day. After the move, the percentage increased to 62%.



TABLE XXVIII  
CONTACT WITH CLOSEST CHILD BEFORE AND AFTER RELOCATION

	<u>TOTAL</u>		<u>Ital.Pole,Jew.</u>		<u>Ukrainian</u>		<u>Urban</u>	
	Before	After	Before	After	Before	After	Before	After
Three times a week or more	21	35	19	31	2	3	-	1
Every weekend	10	6	11	7	-	-	-	-
Every other weekend;	14	8	11	6	2	1	1	-
irregularly on weekends								
Holidays or almost never	11	7	9	6	-	-	1	1
NO. WITH CHILDREN	56	56	50	50	4	4	2	2

Table XXIX showing the location of the 35 closest children before and after the move, shows that the increased level of visiting among these highly concerned children was due to two factors. First, many of them who had not lived near their parents before but were now in the same neighborhood, were able to visit more frequently. Second, the crisis of the move caused others to increase the frequency of their contacts though they lived the same distance away before and after relocation. In addition, there were two daughters who had lived in the West End and had seen their parents often during the week; the relocation separated them from their parents but they continued frequent visiting.

TABLE XXIX CHANGE IN RELATIVE LOCATION OF THE 35 CHILDREN  
WHO VISITED MOST FREQUENTLY  
Comparative frequency of visits before and after relocation

Relative location before and after the move	<u>Had increased contact after relocation</u>	<u>Visited frequently before and after relocation</u>	
	19	16	35
From outside the W.E. to same neighborhood	12	6	18
Always in the same neighborhood as parents	-	7	7
Never in the same neighborhood	7	1	8
Lived in W. E., near parents, moved to neighborhood away from parents.	-	2	2

All the "closest" children were motivated by the same sense of responsibility described earlier in the report. In one case, the responsibility led them to help parents move into the new neighborhoods; in the other, it made them aware of the parents' need for companionship and help in adjusting to the new situation.

It is interesting in this connection to note that when we looked at the visiting patterns of all the children, regardless of how close their psychological relationship to parents, we noted the same influences to a lesser degree. The changed location of the parents did not generally result in an appreciable decrease in the amount of contact families had with their children. There were a total of 173 children considered. Over 1/3 of them reacted to their parent's needs rather than their physical distance from them. 54 or 31% of them increased the frequency of their contact though they had never lived near their parents and still lived some distance away after relocation, while an additional four children who had lived in the West End continued to see parents regularly though they had moved to a separate section of the city.

The majority of the children maintained about the same level of contact before and after the move. Since they did not all have the same intense relationship with their parents that the closest siblings did, their frequencies ranged from every day to almost never. There was no dominant pattern among the majority either before or after their parents moved. On the average, most of the children visited their parents irregularly on the weekends while they were in the West End, and continued to do the same afterwards. It was the closest children who carried the major responsibility. As we noticed, though, almost all the families had at least one child who was close.

If we wish to examine the effect of distance, by itself, on the visiting of individual children, regardless of the strength of the bond between parents and children, we should look at the visiting patterns of those whose location in relation to their parents changed after the move. There were 35 children who were now living closer to their parents than before relocation and 12 who had lived in the West End and had moved to separate communities.

Of the 35 who were now living closer to their parents, 28 or 80% had increased the frequency of contact from regular or irregular weekend visits to frequent visits during the week or daily contact. One more had always seen them frequently. Just six failed to keep up a close exchange; three of these were so reluctant to see the older couple that they visited only on holidays, despite the proximity. The reverse situation resulted when children who had been in the West End moved to a different neighborhood. Of the 12, 8 or 66% had to decrease their daily contacts to every weekend or every other weekend.

Looking at these facts, it appears that distance had the expected effect when it acted as a single factor. All of the children just described had at one period lived both in the same neighborhood as their parents and outside, and most of them desired contact with their parents. During the period when they were in the same neighborhood, both groups tended to see their parents regularly during the week; when they were in separate locations, they were in contact once a week or once every two weeks.

TABLE XXX CONTACT WITH ALL THE CHILDREN

Comparative location of the children:	From in the same city to the same neighborhood	Same Neighborhood to Same City	Same comparative location	TOTAL
	35	12	126	173
<hr/>				
<u>Comparative frequency of visits</u>				
<u>CLOSER</u>	<u>31</u>	-	<u>23</u>	<u>54</u>
During the week, every weekend:				
every day	17	-	2	
Every weekend; weekends to				
during the week	11	-	3	
TOT. TO EVERY DAY	(28)	-	(5)	
Every other week and weekends to every weekend	-	-	15	
Holidays, weekends	3	-	3	
<u>SAME</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>103</u>	<u>111</u>
Every day; during week reg.	1	2	21	
Every weekend	2	1	15	
Every other weekend weekends irreg.	1	1	27	
Holidays, Once in a while Almost never	-	-	40	
<u>LESS</u>		<u>8</u>	-	<u>8</u>
Every day to every weekend	-	6	-	
Every day to every other weekend	-	2	-	

On the whole, then, we could say that because children could travel easily when they wished, personal factors had more effect than distance on the frequency with which children saw parents. A sense of duty caused many of them to become even closer, while the majority sustained the same level of contact they had always had, whether it was frequent or infrequent. Distance affected the frequency of visiting only within a narrow range, making daily visiting difficult but not causing a decrease to less than a week in most cases.

#### Mobility of relatives:

Relatives and friends, on the other hand, were much less mobile than the younger generation. Like the couples themselves, most of the relatives were used to spending their time near home and were neither physically agile nor accustomed to travelling. Those relatives who had not lived in the West End had seldom visited the couples or been visited by their siblings after the couples moved. As we can see in Table XXXI, the effect of distance on relatives was very direct. On the whole relatives in the same neighborhood saw each other often during the week, while those farther away saw each other irregularly or very seldom.

While they were in the West End, the couples had indicated that they missed some of the relatives who had moved away from the West End over the years, and felt the distance between themselves and the relatives as a hardship. Many of them had been very friendly when they were younger, but now that both were too old to travel, they seldom saw each other. From the table, it would appear that many of the couples moved into the same neighborhoods as their favored relatives, for after relocation, they reestablished their former friendships and spent a great deal of time with them.

Just a few couples moved into neighborhoods which contained members of their family who had remained aloof by choice rather than a result of distance. These unfriendly relatives were generally individuals whose level of assimilation was different from that of the West Enders. It is interesting that despite the blood relationship, they treated their "poor relations" with the same disinterest as did the other new neighbors. Most of the others substantially increased the amount of time they spent with members of their family who were near them.

Because of their general immobility, brothers and sisters who had been close socially in the West End, and were forced to move apart because of the demolition were generally unable to maintain much contact after the move except by telephone. Siblings who had seen each other many times a week now visited on irregularly spaced weekends usually no more than once a month, or in many cases only on holidays.

Thus, distance was the most important factor in the potential for contact between immobile older relatives. No matter how psychologically close, relatives

who lived far away were seldom seen. Feelings of friendship or lack of it came into play only when relatives lived near enough to one another to have a choice of maintaining friendship or dropping it.

The table shows that there were eight relatives who were seen somewhat regularly despite the distance. In two cases, the relatives had lived nearby in the West End and both the couples and the relatives were willing to travel every few weeks in order to continue their friendship. In a third case the relative was a business partner. The rest of the contact was due to "the ability of the couples to command transportation" - that is, the younger members of these families were willing to provide transportation for their parents as they had done in the West End. These were generally Italian families in which two siblings and their children would visit back and forth very frequently. These couples, then, were made more mobile by their ability to get assistance from their children.

TABLE XXXI CHANGE IN CONTACT WITH ALL RELATIVES

Definitions:	Contact every day or during the week regularly	4
	Contact with relatives every weekend	3
	Contact every other week, during the week irregularly, or weekends irregularly	2
	Contact only on holidays, almost never	1
<u>COMPARATIVE LOCATION</u>		
COMPARATIVE	From outside W.E.	Outside W.E.
FREQUENCY OF	to same neighborhood	Still in diff. ngbhd.
CONTACT		From W.E.
		to diff. ngbhd.
More frequent		
<u>contact</u>	<u>29</u>	<u>2</u>
1-4	8	-
2-4	10	-
3-4	6	-
1-3	1	-
1-2	4	-
2-3	-	2*
Same Frequency	<u>4</u>	<u>35</u>
4	-	3*
3	-	1*
2	1	5
1	3	26
Less Frequent		
Contact	-	-
		<u>19</u>
4-1	-	10
4-2	-	6
4-3	-	1
2-1	-	2*

\*Frequent contact despite distance.

### Mobility of friends:

Our final concern was the mobility of friends. Looking at the relation with friends in terms of the variables affecting mobility we felt that this source of companionship would be the one most definitely reduced by the move. The common factor of age plus the general lack of familiarity with travelling meant that none of the couples would be anxious or willing to travel constantly; and the children would not be available very often to take them to visit friends.

TABLE XXXII LOCATION OF FRIENDS SEEN

	MEN	WOMEN
Friends in the same neighborhood only	3	9
Friends inside and outside the neighborhood	18	20
Friends outside the neighborhood	15	19
No contact with friends	21	15
TOTAL	<u>57</u>	<u>63</u>

When we checked the location of the friends the West Enders continued to see after the move, we learned that they did not become completely isolated from their old friends. Just 15 of the women or 23%, and 21 or 36% of the men had absolutely no contact with old friends. The majority of the couples were able to see one or two of their old friends once or twice a year.

The amount of contact, however, was drastically reduced. Friends who happened to be in the same neighborhood were seen comparatively frequently, on the average of once a week; but those who lived in a different locale were seen once a month or less, more often less.

Men and women reacted to distance in a slightly different manner. If men were willing to travel outside at all, they saw their friends more frequently than the women (see Table VI); but about 1/3 did not bother to travel. More of the women kept up intermittent, infrequent contact with distant friends.

TABLE XXXIII FREQUENCY OF CONTACT WITH FRIENDS BY LOCATION  
(This table gives the frequency of contact with the closest friends in each location)

	WOMEN		MEN	
	<u>Neighborhood</u>	<u>Outside</u>	<u>Neighborhood</u>	<u>Outside</u>
Every day; 1-2x week	23	7	19	10
Twice a mo.; once a mo.	6	11	2	16
5-6 times a year	-	8	-	1
1-2 times a year	-	9	-	6
TOTAL	<u>29</u>	<u>35</u>	<u>21</u>	<u>33</u>

The inability and unwillingness of both the couples and their friends to travel by public transportation, caused a general reduction in the amount of contact. The degree of loss, however, varied in the different ethnic sub-groups, and depended on the other two factors, the customary location and type of contact and the availability of alternative forms of transportation.

Effect of customary location on ability to maintain outside contact:

We have noted in an earlier section that some of the sub-groups lived a more intense community life than others. The Italian and Jewish subgroups had their churches, their clubs, their stores, and most of their friends in the West End. As a result, they developed a life style which emphasized local activities. The Polish group was small, and had built their church within the fairly recent past. They, therefore, spent a great deal of time within the confines of the West End, but not as much as the Italians and Jews. The Ukrainians had never gathered together in one section of the city. Still, they wanted to have contact with other Ukrainians and much of their social life revolved around the church activities. Over the years, therefore, they developed a life style which involved willingness to travel to meet their friends. Since they were accustomed to travelling, they did not feel that it was an absolute necessity to have other Ukrainians near them, though they would not be unhappy to be near others of their group. They were more concerned with ease of transportation from where they lived. The urban group, too, were used to travelling.

TABLE XXXIV NUMBER OF INDIVIDUALS WHO HAD CONTACT WITH FRIENDS OUTSIDE OF THEIR NEIGHBORHOOD BY ETHNIC GROUP

	<u>WOMEN</u>		<u>MEN</u>	
	No. of women	No. seeing friends outside	No. of men	No. seeing friends outside
Italian, Jew	45	22	40	22
Polish	7	4	7	4
Ukrainian	5	5	5	4
Urban	6	4	5	3
Total	<u>63</u>	<u>35</u>	<u>57</u>	<u>33</u>

The location and type of activity to which each group had become accustomed bore a direct relationship to their ability to maintain contacts at a distance. The group least affected by the move were the Ukrainians. Four of the five Ukrainian men and women continued to see friends who lived some distance away frequently. Generally the meeting took place about once a week or once every other week at church services. Then, after services, they would frequently stay near the vicinity of the church and visit friends who lived there. This was exactly the same pattern they had followed in the West End

Transportation was not an important factor in the mobility of most of the Ukrainians because they were used to travelling and did not mind using public transportation. However, physical inability to travel easily did hinder the mobility of one woman. Since she was not capable of travelling often, she limited her church-going to once a month and often less.

The urban group did not have any one meeting place as did the Ukrainians. Those who had friends who lived outside the neighborhood tended to meet them at home or at club meetings on the average of about once or twice a month, in a pattern that is similar to the usual urban pattern.

This too was the same as their activity in the West End; and here again, the necessity of travelling by public transportation affected only those who were physically not able to travel.

A little over  $\frac{1}{2}$  of the Polish couples saw friends who lived some distance away, the place of contact was generally the church. Many of the couples had located as near as possible to some Polish neighborhood. Though not always directly in it, they were not prohibitively far away from it. Therefore, though they were near other Catholic churches, they often chose to go to the Polish church to see their friends. Since they were not as accustomed to travelling as the Ukrainians were, their church-going was less frequent than that of the Ukrainians. They went to a Polish church on the average of once a month, compared to a figure of once a week for the Ukrainians. Transportation played a very minor part in the ability of the Poles to maintain contact with their church, because they were usually located a fairly short distance (for example, a ten minute bus ride) from the church.

The two cultures least used to travelling and therefore most affected by distance were the Italians and Jews. Only one half of the couples of these nationalities were able to see friends who happened to move far away, and even those who saw their friends, saw them infrequently. Over two-thirds of the women and one-third of the men who saw friends located outside their neighborhood, saw them five times a year or less.

TABLE XXXV FREQUENCY OF CONTACT AT A DISTANCE BY ETHNIC GROUP

	<u>MEN</u>					<u>WOMEN</u>				
	Ital.& Jew,Pol.	Ukr.	Urb.	TOT.		Ital.&Jew.Pol.	Ukr.	Urb.	TOT.	
Every day; 1-2x wk.	7	3	-	-	10	3	1	3	-	7
Twice mo.; Once mo.	8	4	1	3	16	3	3	2	3	11
5-6 times a year	1	-	-	-	1	6	1	-	1	8
Once yr.; twice yr.	6	-	-	-	6	9	-	-	-	9
TOTAL	22	4	4	3	35	21	5	5	4	35
No. Interviewed	39	7	5	5	56	45	7	5	6	63

The importance of custom was highlighted by an interesting phenomenon - - the continuing reliance of all the sub-groups except the urban on some form of aggregate contact. All the West Enders except the urban were used to meeting friends while going to church, shopping, etc. Therefore, they took greater



pains to travel to a common meeting place rather than to visit distant friends at home.

We have already discussed the fact that the Ukrainians and Polish couples met their friends at church. With this impetus they were able to see friends once a month or more. Among the Italians and Jews the only contact that occurred more often than 5-6 times a year took place around a customary meeting place. All 6 of the women who saw their non-local friends with any degree of frequency were Italian. Three of them happened to live in the North End or lower Beacon Hill and were in a position to see their friends when they came into the city to shop or go back to a familiar church. At times, the friends would seek them out specifically. Quite often, they would meet in the market as they used to do. The other three lived out of Boston and "went in" to the North End to "get inexpensive food", "see old friends", "to to the old church" or merely "be in familiar territory". Thus, the market area, combining the inexpensive shopping and the large conglomeration of old friends, continued to act as a focal point toward which the Italian families would gravitate whenever possible. Once in the North End, they would spend a familiar day shopping, talking and visiting. This pattern was particularly true of the men.

Since the Jews did not have a focal point for their meetings, they visited each other very seldom. Some of the couples saw old friends a few times a year when the clubs that used to flourish in the West End had an annual meeting or a special event. Others sometimes met during the summer at a beach commonly used by their friends, (Revere) or during the fall religious season at a common cemetery.

Thus, a place or occasion that offered aggregate contact attracted even the least mobile of the couples and provided a more satisfactory substitute for the West End than any other single activity. We will analyze the relative importance of different kinds of group contact at the end of this section.

#### Effect of transportation on mobility:

For those couples who were not used to public transportation, the availability of alternate means of transportation was a definite factor in their ability to travel out of their immediate community. Given the desire to go to a common meeting place such as the North End, they had to have some means of transportation. Very few of the elderly couples travelled often by public transportation. Just two women, both of whom lived one bus ride away from the North End, and four men (some of whom lived farther away) made trips into the city almost every day by mass transport. All of the others depended on their children and/or friends to drive to the market on a Friday or Saturday. The occasions on which the Jews came together (during religious holidays or going to a common beach in the summer) also involved the children. In this case, too, the parents and children would usually travel together by car.

The effect of custom and the availability of transportation are both apparent in the frequency and type of visit to the homes of distant friends. Since they were not used to intimate contact and did not like to travel, few

Italians or Jews visited friends who were not in the same neighborhood at their homes with any regularity at all. There were 9 women and 14 men who did some visiting at friends' homes. Only 4 of the women and 5 of the men did so once a month or more. These were all Italian couples who either had a special tie to the family they were visiting ( by a godparent relationship, for example); or were visiting people who happened to live near a location of interest to them (near children, for example, or in the North End). At these times, they were taken to their friends by their children. Those who visited friends without the assistance of the children visited very infrequently-5 or 6 times a year.

#### Mobility in Relation to Institutions:

An institution or location which provided potential contact with a large number of friends seems to have had a definite drawing power for the whole group. Their interest in communal activities was so strong that when such activities were unavailable to them near home, they made some effort to travel to them.

When common activities involved religious obligations, fairly regular contact was established. The Ukrainians who had no alternative churches and who had always travelled, continued to go to church every week. The Poles went less often, about once a month, because they could go to other nearby Catholic churches, but nevertheless wished to go to a Polish service with some frequency.

When the desire to attend the specific church was primarily of social origin, the contact was much less frequent. The Italians who usually had an Italian Catholic church near them, but wanted to go to the North End churches to see familiar people, went about once every two months or less.

The strongest non-religious attraction was the North End market with its inexpensive food, excitement and old friends. This exerted an uneven influence. Those who could travel easily went as often as possible; others went as often as they could get transportation.

Among the institutions that had played a part in the lives of the West Enders, the clubs declined in importance. Very few of the men or women joined any ethnic clubs after the move.

TABLE XXXVI REASON FOR NOT JOINING CLUB

	Italian	Jews	Poles
Total number of couples not affiliated with a club	24	22	9
Do not know of any clubs here	10	4	2
Know of clubs but	14	18	7
Too far away	2	3	4
We are too tired	2	4	-
Never belonged	8	2	2
Can't keep up (too expensive; members unfriendly	1	8	1
Afraid to go out at night	1	1	-

Only a few of the Italians in our original group had belonged to clubs when in the West End. They therefore did not think of joining any in the new neighborhood. Few had even heard about potential organizations. If they lived in a neighborhood containing other Italians, they knew in a general way that there were organizations but they seldom bothered to think about them. Only ~~one~~ couple, that had been active in the American Legion, continued to be active.

The Jews had become involved in clubs when in the West End. However, when they tried to join clubs in the new neighborhoods, they found unexpected obstacles. Some found that they could not "keep-up" financially - - could not buy new clothes, could not contribute enough to local causes; other West Enders in the more assimilated neighborhoods found the club members unfriendly. It may be interesting to note in passing that the one woman who was able to successfully fit into a new club owed her success to a special skill of interest to the group. She had the ability to write songs and entertain and was, as a result, in popular demand at club meetings and parties.

The clubs available to the Polish group appear to have been too far away for them to attend. As a result, only three couples in these non-urban sub-groups either joined a new group or maintained contact with the old.

Went back to old club	2
Joined new club	1
Tried to join, felt rebuffed	4

Only the Ukrainian and urban couples who remained members of the same clubs they had been in while in the West End were able to keep up club membership.

Despite the attraction of old sources of common activity to the couples, little real satisfaction was actually derived from them at a distance. Though many of the couples in our study kept some contact with their old cultural institutions, it was almost always sporadic except for the Ukrainians, and did not provide them with a sustained feeling of contact. Its function was primarily to maintain a tie with the old life which was actually quite tenuous.

#### Summary of mobility:

On the whole, it would appear that the non-urban West Enders were not psychologically capable of adjusting to a situation in which they had to travel to see friends, or relatives, or to be in comfortable, enjoyable surroundings. Only places offering aggregate activities attracted them away from their neighborhoods.

Those who had to travel to maintain contact were usually not successful in keeping in touch with the desired object. Contact over distance tended to be sporadic and a mere gesture rather than an integral part of their lives.

Only the urban and Ukrainians who had learned to travel over a lifetime were able to continue contact with outsiders as they grew older. The rest found it difficult to learn.

The inability of the couples to learn to travel influenced their reactions to their new locations directly. It was this inability that caused them to need compatible people nearby. Had they been able to travel, they could have found friendship and activity outside the neighborhood. As it was, those in the unsatisfactory neighborhoods retreated into an isolated life.

## SUMMARY OF FOLLOW-UP STUDY

In this follow-up study of the older couples who had lived in the West End before its demolition for an Urban Renewal project, we attempted to look at the change that came about in the lives of the couples after their move to a new neighborhood, note the degree and type of change and determine the reasons for them. A running description of the results of the pre-relocation study was given in the first part of the report and the specific findings have been scattered through this study. It might be helpful, at this point, to bring together the results of the pre and post-relocation studies in brief form and compare them.

### Type of arrangements sought by the West End couples

1. Before the move the majority of the couples interviewed in the West End were comparatively healthy, had been living an independent life during their older years, and most stated that they would continue to seek independent quarters in their new location.

At the time of the second interview, 60 of the couples, or 77%, were living in their own apartments. Of the 9 that were living with relatives or children, 8 had made this type of arrangement out of a strong need for security. All were widows and widowers who were living with children, or had decided to move into the homes of one of their siblings because they were ill. The only couples that sought a home with a younger relative had done so temporarily until they could find another home for themselves.

All 60 of these respondents, including some widows and widowers, stated they found independent arrangements very satisfactory.

2. In the West End, the women in these couples took great pride in their homemaking ability and derived much of their satisfaction from activities relating to housekeeping. In describing their preferences, therefore all stated they would seek normal housekeeping units with full kitchens in which the wives could do their own cooking.

After relocation all except those who were living with relatives found normal housekeeping units and were satisfied with this arrangement.

3. While they were in the West End, these couples (in times of illness and other emergencies) turned to informal sources of aid that existed in their normal social pattern. Their children who were capable and willing to travel from their homes to those of the parents were available when help was needed. In addition, while in the West End they could depend on neighbors in case of emergencies. They therefore did not seek to have special arrangements in their buildings but thought they would be satisfied in ordinary apartment buildings.

After they moved all but those who were living with children or relatives lived in ordinary apartment buildings and the majority were satisfied with the arrangements. Once again, however, an

unsatisfied need for security provided some exceptions. Some of the widowed women who were not living among friendly neighbors did feel that it would be helpful to have someone nearby upon whom they could call in an emergency.

#### Location Sought

4. On the basis of the material from the pre-relocation study, we hypothesized that security needs and the leisure orientation of the older individual would determine the location he would seek. In this study, we sought to know if these continued to affect their locational needs, how they affected them and the relative strength of each.

In the West End, the security needs of the couples were satisfied by a reliable and mobile source of assistance (the children). On this basis, it would seem reasonable to say that parents did not have to be in the same neighborhood as their children to get aid from them. Those children who were willing to assist their parents before relocation would continue to help them after the move, for their desire to be of aid was determined by personal, family ties and their ability to reach their parents would remain the same as long as the parents were located within reasonable travelling distance.

After relocation, the children played an even more important role in helping parents than we expected. Those who had been the primary source of assistance continued to be so, and some who had not been helpful when the parents were living near friendly neighbors in West End became a more important source of aid after the relocation. Children helped the parents find homes and become settled into them as well as helping in times of illness. In addition, many increased the number of visits they paid their parents while the older couple was adjusting to the new environment.

In addition those couples whose children had close contact with them and those who had spouses to help them in times of illness did not feel that they needed medical facilities nearby. Given the alternative of being located near a hospital and away from friends or located near friends and away from a hospital or clinic, they chose the friends over the clinic or hospital. Those with no children or spouses on the other hand, considered proximity to a medical facility more important.

Proximity to a medical facility was considered a secondary need by the majority of couples. They felt that it would be "nice to have a hospital nearby, but not necessary". If location near a hospital conflicted with the chance to be near friends, the desire to be near compatible people would take priority. The group that placed proximity to a hospital in high priority were the women of urban background who were not close to their children, were widowed and whose friends were not in any specific location. All the others considered it a less important need.

Thus, the relative strength of the need for security (the individual's health) and the relative ease with which it could be satisfied (the availability of children, relatives, spouse, neighbor) determined whether or not they felt it was important to be near a medical facility.

5. Since security needs were not a major factor in the location desired by most of the couples, the next question was how important are their activity needs on their attitude toward their new housing.

Before relocation the non-urban West Enders felt they would need to be located in a place where they could continue the highly social activity pattern they had developed in the West End; while the urban group sought to be near the specific activities that interested them. If either were located too far away to continue the familiar activity, they felt they would be dissatisfied.

After relocation the Italians, Jews and Poles (the groups that had had the most highly integrated subcommunities in the West End and had maintained the highest level of social contact) were more dissatisfied than any other ethnic groups when they were unable to maintain frequent contact with their friends in or near their homes. Their level of satisfaction was directly related to the frequency of contact they were able to maintain. Those that were able to keep up very frequent contact (2-5 times a week) were satisfied with their new homes; those whose contacts were less frequent (once a week or once every two weeks) generally indicated neutral feelings; while those whose contacts dropped to less often than once every two weeks were dissatisfied with their surroundings-the less the contact, the more dissatisfaction.

The concern of the Ukrainians (who had never had a Ukrainian community in the West End) was centered primarily on their ability to travel to friends easily. As in the West End, they did not have to be near friends for they were used to travelling when they wanted to see other people. They were, therefore, satisfied when they could continue weekly visits with friends at church, and were concerned primarily with the ease of travel.

The urban group had never been interested in constant socializing. After the move, therefore, they continued to be uninterested in the social composition of the neighborhood and turned their attention to their ability to continue specific activities of interest to them, i.e. attendance at specific clubs and shopping in downtown Boston or at a shopping center.

Thus, both the need for security and the source of leisure time interest influenced the location sought. The desire to be in contact with activities of interest, was, however, the stronger one. This factor was considered by everyone in the group interviewed, and tended to remain constant, while the strength of the desire to be near a more formal source of help (a medical facility, clinic, V.N.A., etc.) was related to the level of health and the ability to rely on informal sources of help (children, spouses, neighbors).

6. The basic assumption underlying the original study was that the leisure orientation of older people is fairly stable, that the pattern of interests, attitudes and activities that have been developed over the years will not change drastically and that any satisfactory changes that do result from changed circumstances consonant with the overall orientation. To check this hypothesis we asked a series of five questions.

a. Would the overall orientation of each of the groups remain the same before and after relocation? i.e. would the non-urban groups seek to continue their casual, daily contacts, the Ukrainians to continue their weekly contacts around the church and at the homes of friends and the urban group to continue their more individual interests?

The answer to this question has been described under item 5 above. The activities described in that section as their social orientation remained the same before and after relocation.

b. Would the source of social interest remain the same: would the children be satisfactory substitutes for friends as a source of companionship?

Children who had spent a great deal of time with their parents engaging in common activities when they were in the West End were as important to their parents as other friends both before and after the relocation. However, when the couples were forced to have contact solely with children who had not been their companions while in the West End, then the arrangement was not a satisfying one to the parents. Children, then were not automatically sources of companionship. Those who had spent time in activities with their parents- i.e., those who had interests in common with their parents before the relocation were potential companions later and could replace the company of old friends when necessary. Those who had not spent time with their parents before relocation were not effective companions and could not make up for the lack of other friends.

c. Would the characteristics sought in friends remain the same: i.e., would they seek to have people of the same age and background as friends?

The qualities sought in friends were exactly the same in the West End and in the new homes. When asked to describe the new neighborhoods, 69% of the couples spontaneously noted the age composition of the neighborhood and 75% mentioned the ethnic composition on their own initiative. In addition, their relationships with their neighbors, as in the West End depended on the ethnic background and age of the neighbor. They were generally friendlier with neighbors of the same age and background than with others.

d. Would those couples who moved into neighborhoods containing people compatible in terms of age and ethnic background:

1. be able to make new friends more easily than others who were in less "compatible" neighborhoods?
2. be able to have more friends than the others?
3. be more satisfied than the others?

In general, those who were not in compatible neighborhoods were unable to make new friends, had little contact with old friends and were the most dissatisfied. There were however some important exceptions. Not all of those who were in what we had defined as compatible neighborhoods



were in a satisfactory situation. We had assumed that people of the same nationality and age would have enough in common with these people to be potential friends. We learned, however, that in addition to these characteristics, there was the additional less obvious factor of status level, which was related to the degree of assimilation to American culture.

People of the same age and background who differ in their degree of assimilation to the dominant American culture have very little in common. In fact, a few of the couples who were living in a community which contained a more assimilated subgroup learned that they were not accepted by their new neighbors. The new neighbors had somewhat different living patterns and a set of values that specifically rejected the activities and manners of the West Enders.

On the basis of this finding, we should expand our earlier statement to say that potential friends actually came from people of the same age, ethnic background and status or assimilation level. These people would have the same interests, attitudes, values and activity patterns.

e. Finally, would the stability of the individual's interests extend to the type of activity he would find comfortable?

(1.) The Italian, Jewish and Polish couples had always maintained informal, non-intimate contacts with a large number of people in the neighborhood. Seldom did they visit people at home. With the exception of very close friends or relatives, all visiting took place outside the home in the street, in the stores, church etc. If the type of activity most comfortable to the older person did remain stable, a new activity would be satisfactory to this group only if it gave them the chance to have casual, informal contacts.

(2.) The Ukrainian and urban couples, on the other hand were used to more individual "formal" visiting at home and therefore would be satisfied with either casual or formal contact.

After relocation the changed circumstances under which they lived had a definite effect on the activity patterns of the non-urban couples. The patterns of the women changed drastically while those of the men had a less extreme change but nevertheless were different. In most cases, the couples were not living in compatible communities where they could continue the same type of frequent, informal social contact with people on the streets and in ethnic meeting places. Those who were in communities of similar people did, of course, continue the old pattern. The others had to give it up.

Having given up the old pattern, most of the women did not replace it with any satisfactory substitute. Faced with decreasing resources for social activity, they reduced their social contacts. Some retreated from social contact completely.

Others turned primarily to three types of substitutes. Some of the women who lived in neighborhoods containing younger members of their ethnic background spent a great deal of time in and around the neighborhood shopping center. Others returned to former common meeting places; the North End, a common beach, or a church where friends still congregated. A third group turned to visiting old friends in their homes, something they had preferred not to do while in the West End.

None of these substitutes were adequate. The neighborhood ethnic shopping centers provided the women with a familiar setting and activity but they did not provide them with any social contact for they were not potentially friendly with the younger people in the neighborhood.

Visiting was a familiar activity that allowed them to see old friends. Yet, it was not altogether satisfactory to them. In the West End, the financial inability to provide food and drink for guests, the desire to keep contacts from being too intimate, and the enjoyment of daily meetings all made street meetings the preferred method of socializing. Visiting at home conflicted with all three needs. The need to make a decision and plan the meeting cut down the frequency with which people would meet; the need to find common topics of conversation and to pay complete attention to the guest caused the conversation to be less casual than they would have preferred, and the hospitality required by the social code of the women put them to an expense they could not afford. The presence of strain in the visit meant that though they turned to visiting to overcome the lack of social opportunity, it was not considered a satisfactory substitute. It was a measure of necessity that satisfied the need to maintain some contact, but conflicted with the other needs for casual, inexpensive contact. As a result, those couples that used it as a substitute were not completely satisfied with their new pattern. Compared to the total group, they were less satisfied than those who could continue the casual street pattern and more satisfied than those who had no contact at all.

Going back to the old meeting place was a more satisfactory substitute. There were fewer strains when the couples visited old sources of common activity. In addition, the non-urban were able to find in this substitute the same satisfaction they had found in the original. The only problem was the inability of couples to travel often to the desired meeting place. Instead of their customary daily contact, many were forced to reduce contact to once a month. All these substitutes, therefore, merely filled a void rather than offered a satisfactory alternative activity.

We could not determine what changes in activity pattern would be satisfactory or unsatisfactory to the Ukrainian and urban

groups, for their patterns remained similar to those they had developed while in the West End.

The men did not curtail their activities to the same extent as the women. Most of them had been used to going to meeting places outside the West End and to visiting friends. As a result, wherever they were located, they were able to continue visiting the same friends and meeting places. Another factor easing the adjustment of the men was their ability to find new acquaintances with whom to spend time. In general, the men found it easier to make new friends than the women and were more willing to travel to sustain them.

The activity patterns of the men of all backgrounds, the Ukrainian women, and the urban women, were much more flexible than that of the Italian, Jewish and Polish women. As a result, the Ukrainian and urban couples were able to continue their old activities after relocation (they still visited their friends, church and clubs) while the non-urban men continued some of their old activities on a decreased level (visiting old friends, going back to old "haunts") and made some new acquaintances in the new neighborhoods. These acquaintances did not quite "take the place of" their old friends but helped them "pass the time". The Italian, Jewish and Polish women, on the other hand, who had had a fairly set pattern while in the West End found it hard to adjust satisfactorily to new circumstances.

The last set of questions in our outline concerned the ability of the couples to maintain contact with people and places of importance to them. These we said would depend on the physical agility of the couple and the object of interest, the accustomed manner of contact (the normal location, frequency and method of meeting) and the ability to command alternative, suitable forms of transportation.

Information about the potential for contact over a distance is directly related to our evaluation of a good location. If the older individual can keep in contact with an important person or institution without being within walking distance of it, his locational needs are more flexible than those of an individual who must be within the same neighborhood to maintain contact.

The pre-relocation study showed that while they were in the West End:

The more mobile the object of interest, the less need there is to be located nearby; the less agile, the more need there is to be in the same neighborhood.

After relocation, since the children of the couples were physically capable of travelling, they did maintain contact over a distance. Distance decreased the frequency of visiting however. Children who wished to see their parents frequently could see them every day when in the same neighborhood but had to reduce the frequency to once or twice a week when in another neighborhood.

Relatives and friends who were less agile in general were unable to sustain any contact at a distance. The critical distance, however, differed in the three subgroups and depended on two other factors to be described next.

The customary source and manner of contact had a direct effect on the ability of the older person to travel after relocation. Those who were used to meeting friends near home and not using the subway found it difficult to learn to travel. Those who had always travelled continued to have this ability until they became physically incapable of travelling.

As we noted before, the least mobile groups were the Italian, Jewish and Polish women who were used to having all contact near home. The most mobile were the Ukrainian couples who had always travelled to see friends and the men who had lived a more flexible life than their wives.

Those couples who were not accustomed to using mass transport but who had an alternative means of transport that was more suitable were able to visit people and places outside of the neighborhood.

Couples who saw their children often could rely on them for automobile transportation. At times, younger neighbors whose activities paralleled those of the couples would offer the use of their automobiles. This source of transportation, however, was completely dependent on the will of the other person and the intensity of the relationship between the couple and the other individual.

Putting together the information about the mobility of the couples with the description of the source of security and activity, we can make the following statements about the housing needs of the West Enders.

#### Housing required

This group should be housed in normal housekeeping apartments with full kitchens. They would prefer to have two bedrooms to allow children to visit and to have separate bedrooms in case one spouse becomes ill, but this requirement is not absolutely essential.

It is not necessary that they have someone in the building whose job it is to check on their welfare. They have always turned to informal sources for this aid. If they are in a neighborhood where they can turn to the same sources, formal arrangements for assistance are not necessary. If however, they are in completely incompatible neighborhoods and cannot turn to children easily, then it would probably be useful to have a formal source of aid in the building.

#### Location required

The non-urban groups (Italians, Jews and Poles) should be located in the same neighborhood with other people of the same age, nationality and status level.

It would be helpful if the community had a central shopping center and ethnic facilities around which they could congregate but if no formal facilities are available, provision should be made for some central meeting place to be available so that an informal group center can arise.

The Ukrainians and other groups more accustomed to travelling do not have to be in the same neighborhood as others of their nationality but they have to be within a reasonable commuting distance of their church which is their social center. Reasonable distance is determined by the health of the individual. The less agile he is, the nearer he should be located. Though they do not have to be located near the other Ukrainians, they are usually more satisfied when they are near them.

The urban couples had a greater need for the facilities of the central city than for any particular group of people. They needed easy transportation to the clubs of interest to them and to the central shopping center.

All the couples placed desire to be near friends and activities over the desire to be near a medical facility. As they described it, such a facility would be "nice but not necessary". The urban widows who had no family and few friends, however, did want to be near a medical facility.

Some form of social service whose concern it is to help the older individual become adjusted to the new community would be helpful, especially to those who need to make friends. But it should take into account the attitude of the couples toward the type of service offered and the manner in which it would fit into their activity and value system. Couples who had never belonged to groups were reluctant to join Golden Age Groups that were near them, for example; while the couples who moved into the "higher status" neighborhood were rejected by the other members when they tried to join their local group. For the groups studied in this report, any form of assistance offered would be best placed within the institution most familiar to them--the church.

The needs just listed are relevant to this one specific group of people. As can be seen in Section V, the needs of the first group of women studied (the Brunswick Study) are very different from those of the non-urban West Enders.

It is interesting to note that with some exceptions which have been described in the summary, the needs which the older people indicated to be related to their housing requirements before they were relocated, continued to operate in their new settings. Simplifying greatly, we could say that those who were able to fulfill the needs they had had while in the West End (e.g. those who were near compatible friends and could see them casually every day) were satisfied with their new housing, while those who did not fulfill them were not satisfied.

Since the life patterns elicited in response to our pre-relocation questionnaire did prove to be relevant to the needs of the couples in their new housing, it may be of interest for us to describe our approach more fully. In the next section, therefore, we will describe the reasoning behind the whole series of studies (the Brunswick and the West End studies), the method we used to gather the information and the refinements we feel should be added on the basis of the follow-up experience.

### SECTION III

#### OVERVIEW OF SERIES: STUDY APPROACH, METHOD AND RESULTS

The preceding report has described the results of the follow-up of the second study in our series, a study of immigrant couples living in the West End of Boston. In this section, we will compare the results of the two sets of West End interviews with the results of the first study, the study of a group of women of urban American background who had been living in the Brunswick Hotel, a residential hotel, in the center of Boston.

The purpose of both studies was to determine the housing needs of older people that arise from their social requirements. Since the needs of older people vary widely with differences in background, we chose to study two groups that were direct contrasts to one another. In this way, we hoped to derive a picture of the range of needs older people might have.

A second objective was to determine the limits of possible change to which different types of older people could adjust. Housing within the economic reach of older people is often in limited supply and people cannot always find new housing that fits their needs completely. Therefore, one important question was that of the type of change that would be possible for and satisfactory to the different people. What types of changes could be absorbed successfully into their lives and act as a positive or at least neutral influence rather than a disruptive one?

#### People interviewed

For the first study, we interviewed 47 single and widowed women, 65 and over, of Urban American background, who had little contact with family or friends, and who had been living in a residential hotel, the Brunswick Hotel in the center of the city. The second study of immigrant couples living in the West End of Boston had as its concern, a very close-knit community in which family, friends, and neighbors were in constant contact. There were five different subcultures among the West End couples interviewed: Italians, Jews, Poles, Ukrainians, who all came from small towns and villages in their respective countries, and six couples of urban background. The few urban couples were of interest to us because their life pattern bore some resemblance to the pattern of the urban women in the Brunswick.

#### STUDY APPROACH:

Both studies were conducted in two parts. The first part was a description of the lives of the respondents while they were in their original residences. The second set of interviews determined what happened to the people interviewed after relocation. On the basis of their reactions to the new situation, we checked on the validity of the information obtained in the first interview and observed which aspects of their lives were more flexible than others.

Both studies involved the use of a field survey. A semi-structured interview<sup>1</sup> was conducted with the members of the groups studied, and the analysis was based on a composite of their comments. While we feel that this is the best way to determine the variety of needs and interests in any community, we realize that it may not be feasible in terms of time if such a study has to be carried out quickly before action is to be taken. If a quick study has to be made we would suggest that strategically placed individuals in the community - - social workers, ministers, local politicians, representatives of community associations and other individuals who know the community intimately - might approximate the kind of response received by direct interviewing. The important consideration in this type of study would be picking informants who know the variety of interest among non-vocal segments of the community as well as more obvious interests.

### Reasoning behind the studies

The social life of an individual can be described from many different viewpoints. For our purposes, we decided that the aspects of most concern to us were the way in which these groups satisfied their needs for security in times of illness or for other emergencies, and for meaningful activity.

The process of aging is a very individual one. People do not develop new needs solely on the basis of number of years lived. Some people feel older than others of the same age. Needs, problems, and interests are often determined by the social situation in which the individual finds himself as well as by the chronological age. For example; a family in which the husband and wife (both aged 67) are still in good health, still have unmarried children at home, and are still employed, would have more needs and interests in common with a middle-aged couple in the same situation than they would with another older couple.

Despite the individual differences, however, there do appear to be two factors which are potentially common to the majority of older people; a) the loss of the traditional adult role (i.e., for the men, retirement; for the women, the growing up of children) and b) the growing lack of agility and susceptibility to illness.

The first factor, loss of adult role, is the biggest single change that faces the older person. For all of his adult life, the person has usually had a central role, or set of activities, (breadwinner, mother) around which his life has been organized. This role has not only provided him with a means of support but has also given him a means of placing himself in his society. In America, people usually identify themselves by indicating their occupation (the man will name his job, a woman call herself "housewife" if she has no other occupation). In addition, "these labelled occupations" provide him with other benefits. First of all they give him a way of spending time that is meaningful to others in society. Others expect him to spend his time in this manner and find this use of time acceptable (supporting a family or taking care of a family acceptable to others; loafing with no perceivable occupation is usually not understood or accepted). Secondly, they offer him a means

<sup>1</sup> An interview which uses a schedule of questions as a base but allows the interviewer freedom to follow the line of thinking indicated by the respondent on some of the questions - rather than adhering rigidly to the written schedule.

of contact with other people, however casual. The man works with others in the factory, the woman shops for food, clothing. Often these contacts are more than casual and provide an important source of friendship and companionship. For example, many of the immigrant men were very friendly with other men who worked in the same industry.

For the men, therefore, retirement generally means dropping all these benefits as well as sustaining a cut in income. Ernest Burgess, in a report on the work being done by the Cornell Studies of Retirement<sup>1</sup> sums up the effect of retirement thus:

"Retirement from work rather than any specified age marks the end of the main activity which gives meaning and purpose to the lives of a great majority of men. Retirement initiates a series of changes: a severe cut in income, loss of associates at work, lowered status in the community, readjustments in husband-wife relationships and often in parent-child relations, and a succession of decisions about choices in new patterns of living."

For a woman, the reduction of required activity does the same to a lesser degree. For she no longer has the responsibility of children and has "just the two of us" to cook for. Both, then, are thrown back on their own resources to make up for the lack.

Any resources that might be available would of necessity have to come from the part of the person's life that was non-work oriented: all the skills, interests and relationships which he has cultivated voluntarily, i.e., his leisure-time activities and interests, his family relationships and friendship patterns. The specific source of interest and meaning after retirement will differ from group to group, but in all cases, since the productive, compulsory activities are not available, it will come from the range of leisure-time interests.

The second common factor of increased susceptibility to illness and increasing loss of agility as people grow older means that there is an increased need to be in a position to get help in case of illness or emergencies. Here again, the source of aid will differ from person to person, (the close family will usually provide assistance during emergencies, while a single individual will usually need more formal sources of assistance such as a nurse), but all will need some source.

<sup>1</sup> Ernest Burgess "Adjustment in Retirement", Journal of Social Issues, Editors, Gordon Streib and Wayne E. Thompson, Vol. XIV No. 2, 1958



On the basis of these common factors plus material from the two studies, we developed the three hypotheses which were the working assumptions of the study:

1. Older people will be most satisfied with a housing arrangement that does not hinder them from continuing their customary leisure time activities and relationships. To be satisfactory, the housing should also give them the opportunity to have some assurance of assistance in illness.
2. The home is the base from which we venture forth to take part in our every day activities. Since the older person finds it more difficult to travel than the younger person, the location of the house is of key importance in allowing the older person to maintain contact with the people and activities that provide him with security and activity. To be satisfactory, therefore, the housing should be located so that the key leisure activities and sources of security are within grasp of the resident.
3. The ability of the older person to be "within grasp" of the important object depends on three conditions.
  - a. The physical mobility of the older individual or the object of interest.
  - b. The accustomed manner of contact, i.e. the normal location, frequency and method of meeting. For example, people who are accustomed to meeting their friends casually near home find it difficult to get used to travelling in order to visit friends who are not nearby.
  - c. The ability of the individual to obtain suitable transportation, i.e. an older individual who is not used to travelling by public transportation, regardless of his physical ability, will be reluctant to use it except in fairly drastic circumstances. If such people have no automobile and cannot afford taxis, then they must either find someone to drive them to their destination or all contact will cease.

These three hypotheses determine the type of information to be sought in the interviews. When put together, they will predict the kind of housing needed. They are, however, just abstractions about the type of information that would be useful. To make specific predictions, information about the people who are being studied must be filled in. That is, we must know the sources of security, the leisure orientation and the level of mobility of the particular group in order to make predictions about the kind of housing that will be satisfactory for them.

The rest of our method was concerned with deriving an accurate and useful picture of the leisure orientation, security pattern and degree of mobility of the people for whom the housing is intended.

## Method of determining leisure and security needs

### Leisure orientation:

Taking each one separately, let us look at leisure orientation first. The potential variety of leisure activities is vast. Almost any activity can become the basis of leisure for someone. Max Kaplan in his article "The Uses of Leisure" in the Handbook of Social Gerontology<sup>1</sup> describes the essential elements of leisure. Among the elements listed are:

1. That leisure activities be the antithesis of the economic function.
2. That they bring pleasant expectations and recollections to the participant.
3. That they be perceived by the individual as having been carried on out of free choice.
4. That they be in close relation to cultural values.

Since almost any activity can fit this description, he then describes a possible way of classifying leisure activities. For our purpose of determining housing needs, the most useful method of classifying leisure activity is in terms that can be affected by housing. For this purpose, the variable of most importance is flexibility---what limitations will the activity place on their location; and if there are limitations, what are they, specifically.

Each of the five following bases of classification present two alternatives. The first alternative places some limitation on the individual, because it involves him with specific other people or places that have to be taken into account when we determine the specific location that would be suitable for him. These alternatives are not mutually exclusive. It is possible for an activity to combine elements of both alternatives to varying degrees.

1. Are the activities social e.g., seeing other people; or individual e.g., reading?
2. Are they based on a tie to a particular community, e.g., participation in the affairs of a particular sub-community; or an individualized interest e.g., playing an instrument?
3. Are they tied to a specific institution e.g.; church-going, marketing in ethnic stores; or can they be carried out anywhere?
4. Are they active, e.g., the individual takes an actual part in the activity; or just receptive, e.g., watching the activities of others?
5. Are they inherantly localized, e.g., contact limited to just the neighbors; or extended outside local limits, e.g., contacts determined by interest rather than location.

<sup>1</sup> Max Kaplan "The Uses of Leisure", Handbook of Social Gerontology. Clark Tibbits, ed., University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1960, PP. 407-443

All these should be answered when describing the leisure orientation of the group concerned. To carry the information one step farther and to determine the extent of flexibility, it is also useful to learn the reasons behind the orientation of the group.

To understand the reasons behind the leisure orientation of the group, we must know where and how the older people find their friendship. Society can be described as being separated into the nuclear family (husband , wife and children), the extended family (the siblings, cousins, other relatives and parents of the couple or individual), the neighbors, unrelated individuals who may be friends, people who provide service of some sort (the local storekeeper, the druggist,) and formal institutions (businesses, the government, hospitals, clinics). Friendship, activity and company can come from any of all of these sources. To describe the companionship pattern it is important to learn which of these sources are important to the individual.

In addition, friends can be chosen on the basis of a variety of qualities: similarity in ethnic background, economic background, religious background, educational level, specific interests, occupation, or just on the basis of proximity.

Lastly, the meaning of the activities can be gleaned by asking the respondent what activity he would substitute for his present activities if necessary, and the reason behind his choice. By this method, it is possible to learn which qualities of the activity are **more** important and which are more dispensible.

Thus, the description of the leisure pattern of the respondents will include:

1. An identification of the general orientation of its leisure-time interests.
2. A description of the specific activities
3. A determination of the reason for these activities and the relative importance of the need each one satisfies.

#### Source of Security:

For help in times of trouble, the individual can turn to any one of the divisions of society from which he can derive friendship; i.e. family, neighbors, friends, people who provide service (the druggist, the hotel manager) or the formal institutions. The specific source, its mobility and its reliability will have a definite effect on the type of arrangement and location needed by the individual and should therefore be determined.

#### Mobility:

The last part of our scheme concerned the mobility of the people. This section indicates how close the individual must be located to the person or place of importance to him. We learned that mobility was related to: 1. the agility of both parties 2. the customary location and frequency of meeting (which will have been described in the first part of the study described earlier in this section) and 3. the ability of the individual to command suitable and satisfactory forms of transportation.

When facts about the mobility of the individual are put together with information on the amount of contact he wants or needs to have with any particular person or institution, it is possible to make predictions about how far he can live from the important object and still maintain contact.

#### Derivation of range of possible housing:

To help us focus the social needs described in the study directly on housing requirements, we asked each respondent to tell us where he wanted to live and why. With this information, we were able to learn which features of his life and activity he feels will be most affected by the housing and which are most important to him.

Finally, by relating our data on the individual's social requirements to the qualities of the specific housing he said he wanted, we were able to derive a broad picture of the range of housing that would be satisfactory to him. In studying the housing needs of particular groups, this approach would make it possible to predict whether alternate arrangements not known to the respondents could satisfy their basic needs. With this type of insight, social or planning agencies might help older individuals find satisfactory housing in a market that cannot always provide their first preference.

Let us see now how this method was used in the study of the two groups, the women at the Brunswick Hotel and the couples in the West End of Boston.

#### Relative importance of leisure time interests and security needs in determining the housing requirements of older people:

Our first "working hypothesis" concerned the relative importance of leisure time needs and security needs in determining the location and type of housing that would be satisfactory to older people. We hypothesized that both security and activity needs would be involved. Our concern was the relative importance of the two for any group of individuals.

The security needs of older individuals result from failing health. The intensity of the need depends, therefore, on the individual's state of health. The influence of this need on the housing requirements of the older person, however, depends on the source of assistance available to him and the reliability of the source, in meeting his need.

In the pre-relocation interview, therefore, we asked a series of questions designed to determine to whom (i.e., which of the potential sources of aid--children, spouses, friends, relatives, neighbors, druggists etc.) and to what institutions they turned for different kinds of assistance. The types of assistance covered were aid in times of emergency, for relatively minor illness, for problems in dealing with institutions like the Redevelopment Authority, assistance with daily household problems. From these questions we learned that while they were in the West End, most of the couples had very reliable sources of aid whenever necessary. Most had an extended network of assistance. The primary source was children, but they also had secondary sources: immediate neighbors in emergencies, nearby relatives in less extreme emergencies, and sometimes friends. The available neighbors and friends were almost always of

their own nationality group and in all cases the neighbors had lived in the same building for many years. They did not turn to people whom they did not know well.

On the basis of this information about the reluctance of the couples to turn to neighbors for assistance unless they were very friendly, we could expect that when they moved, the new neighbors might not continue to be a potential source of assistance unless they were friendly with the couples socially. Children, however, could be counted on to help parents whenever needed regardless of their physical distance from the parents, for they were usually governed by the dictates of family responsibility and were able to travel to the parents. The importance of having a more formal institutionalized source of assistance nearby would be dependent on the ease with which the individual could obtain informal assistance from spouse, children or other people. These sources were more important than more formal aid such as a clinic, except in cases of serious illness.

The follow-up interview showed that the desire to be located near medical facilities was directly related to the availability of other sources of aid. Those without children and those of the urban group whose relationship with their children was not as close as that of the others, were in somewhat more precarious position. If they had a living spouse or close relatives they tended to turn to these sources primarily. If they had neither, they wanted to be near outside help. The answers to a question on whether they would like to be near a clinic or some formal source of medical assistance was inversely related to the availability of alternative sources of assistance. Those with responsible children, spouses or relatives were least concerned. It was the group without any of these that felt the need most seriously.

This West End finding that the strength of desire for proximity to formal medical facilities is directly related to the ability of the individual to command other sources of assistance is corroborated in the Brunswick study as well. To the women of the Brunswick who had very little contact with friends, relatives, children or neighbors, security was of prime importance. They sought it by trying to be in a hotel-like setting in which maids, houseboys, and the manager could look in on them and help find a doctor if needed. When they moved, those who did not get this feature in their new arrangements were somewhat uneasy. This feature of their housing was a salient one to them; during the follow-up interview, many of them mentioned spontaneously that the lack of someone to look in on them after they moved from the Brunswick was disturbing. In contrast, only a few of the West Enders mentioned it without being asked specifically.

#### Security needs-Summary:

From the data in our two studies, it would appear that security needs are a secondary factor in the search for a satisfactory location. When security needs were not easily satisfied by informal means (children, relatives, neighbors) they affected the type of arrangements desired rather than the location. We could sum it up by saying the worse the health of the individual, and the fewer the sources of additional assistance he has, the more important his security needs will be in determining the type of housing he will require. But the need has to become very powerful to take precedence over the more salient need,

the need to be in a location that will allow him to have satisfactory meaningful activity. Even the women in the Brunswick who felt very insecure, looked for arrangements that would give them security but sought to locate near institutions that could provide them with interesting activity.

### Leisure Time Needs:

The importance of leisure time needs was determined in three steps:

1. Description of the leisure time pattern itself in the terms described before (i.e. is it social or individual, active or passive, tied to a specific institution or place etc.)
2. A determination of specific requirements for the social environment as perceived by the people themselves.
3. An analysis of their stated special environment requirements in terms of their leisure time pattern.

### Description of the Leisure Patterns:

There were three different patterns of activity represented in the two studies. Three of the West End nationality groupings conformed to the first pattern, a "non-urban", village-like pattern. These three groups, (the Italians, the Polish couples and the Jews) were all integral members of an ethnic sub-community in which they had casual, unplanned daily contacts with a large number of people usually of the same age and background, while involved in their life's routine (shopping, walking around, church going). They were intimate with only a few people, but had more superficial contact with many. Because they had been living in one place for so long, the web of information about the whole community and its doings had been woven enough so that casual contact could keep each individual abreast of the latest doings in the life of the person they happened to be speaking to and in the lives of his acquaintances. Thus, the contacts were casual but long-standing. In terms of our classification, the activity of this group can be termed:

social activity  
tied to the local ethnic community  
tied to ethnic institutions (stores, church, club)  
active (the women shop or are active in the clubs)  
inherently localized

Their activity was almost completely social. They engaged in almost no individual activity and were completely dependent on social activity with others of their background and age. Given this information, we would expect this group to find their housing satisfactory only if they were in a position to contact people of their own background easily. Since these contacts had been the base of the lives of the non-urban West Enders, they would seek to have them again in their new homes.

The follow-up interview found that satisfaction with their new apartments was very directly related to the amount of social contact they were able to maintain; the less the contact, the more dissatisfied they were. In addition, it found that the degree of contact they maintained in the new neighborhood was primarily a function of the availability of other people of their own background and age; the less "compatible" the neighborhood, the less the contact.

In contrast with the Italians, Poles and Jews, the Ukrainians represented a second type of leisure pattern. Since the Ukrainians in Boston were not gathered together in the West End, they had never developed the pattern of continued extensive contact with others of their group that the others had done. Instead of meeting friends casually every day, they were more willing to travel to visit them at home or at church. Seeking their close friendships with other Ukrainians who did not live nearby, they were generally more satisfied with relatively superficial contact with neighbors than the other nationalities were.

Their contacts could be classified as active and social, based on a tie to an ethnic community, but in contrast to the others, extending outside local limits. Though ethnically based, their contacts were not locally based and not as intense as those of the other groups. For them, therefore daily contact with friends was less important than it was for the others. For their desired social environment, this group stated that they were primarily concerned with the feasibility of travelling to see their friends. After they were relocated, we learned that the ease with which they were able to contact their friends did actually determine to a large extent their attitude toward their new housing.

People of the third type, the urban couples in both the Brunswick and West End studies, were much less concerned with friends and social contacts. The urban West Enders spent most of their time in active solitary pursuits such as shopping and walking around downtown; or in individual special interest clubs (a social service club, for example). After the move, the type of neighbors, as a result, made little difference to them; ease of travelling to their individual activity interests was their primary consideration.

The activities of the Brunswick women were mainly passive. Most tended to spend their days as non-participant observer of the passing scene, sitting on the porch of the hotel, watching traffic, sitting in the local S.S. Pierce, food store, in the library watching the patrons, or just sitting in the lobby of their hotel watching each other. The major non-passive activity of the day was going out to eat in a restaurant. For them, therefore, the most important need was to be in a place containing a great deal of activity-stores with windows to look in, cheap restaurants nearby, perhaps a park in which there was normally a great deal of activity. Their needs after relocation were best satisfied by being located in a central shopping district of a town or neighborhood.

The people of urban background in both studies showed more independence of action than the less urbanized "villagers" whose activities were more clearly related to a special community. But the two types of urbanized individuals still were somewhat different. The married couples in the West End were less dependent on the environment for interest than were the single women at the Brunswick. Some engaged in active interests (clubs). Others were not active, but the presence of a partner made them less dependent on the environment. As long as they were able to travel with ease to the clubs of importance to them, they were satisfied. On the other hand though the Brunswick women were willing to travel to specific activities, they also needed other interests nearby to divert them.

Importance of Status Level: In the pre-relocation studies, we missed one important dimension. From the material in the West End pre-relocation study we would have predicted that any one of the same age and ethnic background would be potential friends of the West End couples. While in the West End, not all people of the same age and background were close friends, of course, but all close friends were chosen from within this general category. In the new neighborhoods, it turned out, the simple census categories of age and background did not completely define the type of friend needed. One more qualification had to be added. The factor which was left out of the original analysis, but which was mentioned spontaneously by one subgroup, was the factor of status level. Among the West Enders, the status level was related to the level of assimilation to American culture. Though we had originally assumed that people of the same age range and nationality were potential friends, we learned that if they were at different levels of assimilation to American culture they were completely incompatible.

Those couples who were resettled in the "higher status" community<sup>1</sup> were faced with the problem directly. The women in the higher status neighborhood spent less time in casual contacts on the street and more in visiting at home. In addition, they looked down upon the West Enders, who could not afford the type of clothes they admired and reminded them of the life they had chosen to leave. The difference affected the West Enders in two ways. First, the activity patterns of the both groups were different enough to make it difficult for the two to meet; second, the value system of the people in the new neighborhood put the West Enders in a definitely negative light. Feeling the invidious comparison, the West Enders were unable and unwilling to find friends in the new neighborhood.

This factor of status played a role in the housing preferences of the Brunswick women, also. These women who felt themselves to be members of the respectable middle and uppermiddle class socially did not want to live in a neighborhood with minority groups, and/or delinquents, or in a "seedy" neighborhood. This in fact was their only social requirement. In their case it was largely a symbolic requirement for they did not spend any time with the people involved. They were concerned about the status because it was their only mark of self respect. To live among those they held in low esteem meant to them that they were associated with their lower class neighbors and therefore forced to be identified with them.

Status then, operated on two levels. First was the symbolic level. The Brunswick women avoided contact with the lower classes to avoid any "guilt by association"; the West Enders were the object of aversion. The more assimilated group shied away from the West Enders for fear of identification with them. The second was the more practical level. The West Enders in the higher status neighborhood lived a different life than their new neighbors. Because of the difference, the couples found it difficult to meet new people. When they did actually come into contact with the new neighbors, the symbolic differences

<sup>1</sup> A neighborhood containing a subgroup of their own nationality that had moved out of the West End much earlier and did not hold the same values despite the common age and background.



caused the more assimilated group to shun any real friendship, thus actually isolating the West Enders. The Brunswick group were also actually affraid of being molested by some of the men in the "seedy" hotels and were disturbed by the dirty or noisy habits of some of the women. Thus status differences affected people both in terms of their preferred way of living and their ability to maintain self-respect.

The desire to be with people of similar status level is not obvious to most people. When asked to describe their friends, they will leave this quality out of the description. As a result of this phenomenon, status was not included in the prediction of the kind of housing needed by the people in either study. Yet, it appeared in the follow-up of both studies as an important additional factor. On the basis of this experience, we feel it important to underline the elusiveness of this factor which probably cannot be gleaned from the respondents directly. However, indirect descriptions of the people avoided, if carefully observed in terms of the actions and reasons for avoidance, can sometimes catch the characteristic. In both cases, it was discovered when we learned of the negative attitude of the respondents toward a specific type of neighbor.

From this description, we can see that the life style of the respondents determined the housing needed. In the follow-up interviews of both studies, we noted that all the groups sought housing that would let them live as they had been living. The non-urban West Enders sought neighborhoods containing potentially friendly neighbors; the Ukrainians looked for ease of transportation to their friends; the West End urban couples sought ease of transportation to their activities and the urban women in the Brunswick looked for a center of activity. In general, those who found what ~~they~~ wanted were satisfied. Those who did not, were not.

This last statement indicates, not only the importance of the overall leisure orientation, but also its stability. The patterns of interest exhibited by the people interviewed did not change after they had moved to new housing. Regardless of their success in finding the kind of housing they wanted, their overall interest pattern remained the same.

#### Possibility of change within the overall pattern

The potential flexibility of the older person is, a very important consideration. Therefore, one question in the study was: Would the people interviewed change in new and different circumstances? If they did, what changes would be possible and in what direction would the changes go? We hypothesized that the overall leisure orientation of older people would remain the same regardless of the type of community into which they were relocated. Any changes that might come about would be in specific aspects of the pattern and would involve specific activities. The new activities would have to be familiar to the individual in some way and would have to follow the overall orientation of the individual to be satisfactory. That is, it would have to satisfy either the same needs as the old activity or some dormant need of the individual.

After relocation, we learned that the general interests of all the groups did remain the same. The women who lived in the Brunswick did not change their pattern at all. Both before and after they moved, they sought to be passive observers of the city scene. All of them moved into hotels or rooming houses near the center of the city, and in the center of a great deal of activity. Any changes that did come about were due to the nature of activity that was available nearby. Those who lived near stores continued to look in store windows; those who lived near park-like areas, watched the activities in the park and went into town less often. All continued their passive pattern.

Basically, the West Enders kept their highly social interests after they moved. However, since their pattern was more active they had more potential for change. Their potential changes were of three types: 1) a possible change in the relationship of the people with whom they sought companionship, that is they might become friendlier with their children if friends were not available; 2) they might seek different qualities in friends if their old friends were not available (they might be friendlier with other nationalities if their own group were not available); and 3) their activities and the location of their activities might change.

As it turned out, the first of these two possibilities were not borne out. They sought exactly the same type of people for companionship. First of all, children who had not provided a source of companionship when the parents were in the West End were unable to take the place of friends after the relocation. Secondly, those non-urban couples who were living in "foreign neighborhoods," were very unhappy. The closer the neighborhood came to the ideal of containing a large number of ethnic compatriots of the same age who were; the further the area diverged from the ideal, the more unhappy they were. The urban and Ukrainian couples not only sought out the same type of friend, but actually went back to their old friends. Thus, there was no change in the type of friends either group sought.

The third possibility, that the specific activity and location of activity might change, did occur to some extent. The West End couples who were not in completely compatible neighborhoods tried to maintain some degree of social contact by engaging in new activities. Some were more willing to visit at home than they had been in the West End; others sought substitute meeting places - - local shopping centers, a former common meeting place like Haymarket Square, or a common beach. None of these substitutes were satisfactory. Visiting placed new strains on the couples; the local shopping center did not provide companionship because the people in the neighborhood were not potential friends; while the trips to the North End or to other former meeting places were very satisfying but were too infrequent to be adequate substitutes.

Both the West End and Brunswick respondents were thus not very flexible. Only those individuals who moved into neighborhoods that were similar to the original neighborhood were able to find a satisfactory new way of life. These people maintained their old pattern on a decreased level but nevertheless their life was basically similar to their old way of living. None of the others made a satisfactory adjustment. They tried to engage in new forms of their old social activities but the new forms were merely a stopgap and did not provide continual satisfaction.

Thus, it seems that though the activity pattern and attitudes of the older individual may well have developed as a result of the circumstances that surrounded him while he was younger, and might perhaps have changed if the circumstances had changed at an earlier date, he did not, in his later life, readjust easily to a new situation that did not bear some relationship to his old life.

#### Mobility as a measure of ability to maintain contacts

Once we had determined who was important to the individual and how he spent his time, we turned next to a consideration of the individual's ability to maintain contact over distance with people and places of interests to him. Potential ability to travel does not necessarily indicate how far away the older individual should be from someone or something he wishes to see.

It merely describes the frequency of contact possible at different distances. A combination of the frequency of contact desired and the frequency which is possible at a given distance would suggest the best location for any given object or person.

Potential capability for contact over distance depends on three factors: the physical capacity of both the older individual and the other persons (relative, friend, child); the customary form and location of contact; and the availability of suitable transportation.

The physical capacity of all the people interviewed was not very high. None of them felt able to travel very far or often. When they did travel to places or people of interest, once or twice a week was the usual maximum. Those couples who sought to be with their children could count on the mobility of the children. The others had to depend on their capacity to travel.

In addition to depending on their physical agility, the ability of the older people to travel depended on their customary method of meeting people. The non-urban women were the least mobile of all those interviewed in both studies. They were used to staying near home, and did not have automobiles and did not know how to use public transportation. As a result, when they moved they lost contact with relatives and friends who lived far enough away to require travelling.

The Ukrainian couples, the urban couples, the Brunswick women and the non-urban men were all willing to do some travelling. The Ukrainians had always travelled to their church and to friends who were located outside the West End; the urban couples, non-urban men and the Brunswick women had always had friends and activities of interest in other parts of the city. Having learned to travel when younger, they were able to continue the same pattern later.

Distance did, however, preclude frequent visiting; those who travelled saw friends and relations and engaged in desired activities on the average of once a week or less. The Ukrainian and urban couples who did not desire more frequent contact were satisfied by the situation. Both had companionship at home and did not seek diversion more than once a week, on the average.

The women at the Brunswick, however, were not satisfied with weekly contact at a club. They were willing to travel for some activities, but since they needed to have some activity to keep them occupied every day, they wanted to have diversion nearby. This was equally true of the urban men who were willing to travel but were used to daily activity. They travelled and visited friends but were not satisfied with this situation.

#### Optimum Location for each type

Putting all this information together we determined that the optimum location for the women who had lived in the Brunswick Hotel would be in the central city near an active shopping center where many people pass and where there are stores and store windows in which to browse, where they are near entertainment and near inexpensive restaurants in which they could spend time. Such a center would most likely also have special interest clubs that could interest some of them and would have an intrinsic activity level that would offer daily diversion to all of them.

The Ukrainian and urban couples did not need to be within a special area because they could travel, and did not need daily outside diversion, but they did need to be within easy travelling distance of their particular interests. The Ukrainians had to travel to their friends and to the church, while the urban couples wanted to have their clubs and the central shopping. The central city or someplace near the central city would satisfy the urban couples while a Ukrainian community would be most satisfactory to the Ukrainian group, and a location within easy travelling distance would be acceptable.

For the non-urban couples, the best location would be one which contained people of their age, nationality and level of assimilation. Here they could engage in activities that were familiar to them and would have the greatest chance of making new friends. The best location would be one that also had ethnic institutions such as shops, churches, clubs etc. in the area, for they tended to make most of their contacts in or near common meeting places. However, as long as the area contained a large enough group of friends to develop a meeting place, the lack of existing ethnic institutions would not be as important a lack as the lack of nearby familiar people.

#### Optimum arrangements

The women at the Brunswick and the West End couples differed not only in the location they sought but also in the type of arrangement they needed. The couples in the West End were generally self-sufficient. The women were not only used to housekeeping but focused most of their activity around the duties related to the home. For them, therefore, normal apartments with kitchens were necessary. Only in drastic circumstances would the West End men or women wish to have someone cook for them. The women at the Brunswick, on the other hand looked forward to a meal in a restaurant as an activity. They therefore did not need full kitchen facilities and were satisfied with a hotplate and a small refrigerator in which they could keep food for snacks, breakfast, and emergencies.

For the women at the Brunswick, a hotel-like setting was the best possible arrangement-i.e. a setting in which they could have someone on duty who would always be available for them to all in case of emergency, and could have others working around the building to whom they could speak. Though they did not socialize with others in the building, they appreciated the presence of a common lobby in which they could sit and watch activity. In addition, they found it helpful to have an inexpensive restaurant next to the hotel to which they could go when it rained or when they were too tired to walk far.

#### Use of the Study Method

The method of this study, as we have described it here, focused on determining the leisure orientation, security pattern and degree of mobility for each group of older people whose housing needs we investigated. These characteristics, as observed before relocation, persisted with a high degree of consistency in the new environment. Experience after relocation indicated the relevance of these characteristics to housing needs: satisfaction with the new housing was clearly tied to leisure and security needs and to mobility potential. The bridge from these needs to housing requirements involves many complexities however. Our follow-up interviews turned up the importance of assimilation level, for example, as a factor unexpectedly influencing possibilities for friendship between members of the same ethnic group. Nevertheless, the close correspondence between housing satisfaction and the elements we have singled out for attention suggest that the study method can have considerable predictive power if applied carefully. In any case, the approach of this study appears to isolate a number of significant variables that should be recognized when efforts are made to determine the housing needs of older people.



A P P E N D I X

West End Follow-up

Last

Husband

First

Wife

NAME \_\_\_\_\_

NEW ADDRESS \_\_\_\_\_ Tel: Y N Other \_\_\_\_\_

Apt     Rm     Institution \_\_\_\_\_ Rent \_\_\_\_\_

Living alone \_\_\_\_\_; with \_\_\_\_\_ amount and source of income \_\_\_\_\_

No. of rooms (incl. bath and kitchen) \_\_\_\_\_ No. of flights \_\_\_\_\_  
 No. of bedrooms \_\_\_\_\_ Toilet facilities \_\_\_\_\_  
 Kitchen \_\_\_\_\_ kitchenette \_\_\_\_\_ hotplate \_\_\_\_\_ Private \_\_\_\_\_  
 Heat: Central \_\_\_\_\_ Other \_\_\_\_\_ Shared: 2 apts \_\_\_\_\_ Whole floor \_\_\_\_\_

It is not easy for people to get settled into a new part of town. U.C.S. is therefore very interested in knowing how you have been since you have been here.

1. Have you been living in this apt. long? How long? \_\_\_\_\_
2. Did you move anywhere else before you moved here? \_\_\_\_\_  
 Why did you move out? \_\_\_\_\_

A. Source of Help in Relocation

1. How did you first hear of this apt.?
2. How did you go to see it before you rented it?  
 Did someone go with you?
3. Did anyone else tell you of apts. or show you places?

B. Meaning of the Neighborhood Before the Move

1. Why did you move to this neighborhood?
2. Did you know anything about the neighborhood before you moved? Y N How?
3. What did you think of it then?  
 Why?
4. Did anyone you know ever live in this neighborhood? Y N  
 Children \_\_\_\_\_ Friends \_\_\_\_\_ Relatives \_\_\_\_\_
5. Do any of these people live here now?  
 Relationship \_\_\_\_\_ Street \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_



C. Attitude Toward Specific Features of the Neighborhood

1. How do you like living in ( ) L \_\_\_ Nt \_\_\_ D \_\_\_ d.k. \_\_\_ n.a. \_\_\_

2. How is your new apt.?

Is it better \_\_\_ the same \_\_\_ worse \_\_\_ than the one in the W.E.?

In what way?

Do you have enough bedrooms?

How do you like the kitchen

Heating

Stairs

Other

3. How is the shopping compared to the W.E.?

How do the prices compare?

Can you get what you want? Y \_\_\_ N \_\_\_

Where do you usually shop?

Why?

How do you get there?

Do you shop anywhere else?

Why?

How do you get there?

4. How do you like your neighbor? L \_\_\_ Wt \_\_\_ D \_\_\_ d.k. \_\_\_ n.a. \_\_\_

a. Are you friendly with any of them?

Do you:

Visit them or do things together?

Meet them casually in the street \_\_\_ in the home \_\_\_

Borrow things from them?

Other

b. What about the others?

5. What is the neighborhood like?

D. Attitude Toward the Changing Environment

1. Has life changed very much since you have been living here?

2. Can you do things you couldn't do when you were in the W. E. ?

3. Is there anything you miss from the W.E.?  
What do you miss the most?

4. Would you rather have moved somewhere else?  
Where?

E. Present Level of Contacts

1. Has the move made any difference in the no. of times you see your children? About how often do you see them now?

a. Where do you usually see them now?

b. Do you have enough room for them when they visit? Y    N   

Child and Address

How often

Where

How

---

---

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2. How about your relatives - Has the move made any difference in the no. of times you see them?
- a. About how often do you see them?
- b. Where do you see them?

3. And your friends from the W. E.? Do you ever see them now? How often? Where?

Relationship and Address

How often seen

Where

How

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---

---

4. Health Level and Source of Help

- a. How have you been feeling since you've been here?
- b. Is there any place or anyone you can turn to if you get sick?
- c. Since you have been here, is there any place you can turn if you need help? For example:  
Who would you ask to help you fix something in the house?  
Who would you call in an emergency?
- d. Would you like to see some place around here to which you could go for help?

5. How would you say you spend most of your time now?  
Special days: on weekends      During the day

Would you rather stay home or go out?  
What do you do while at home?

When you go out, what do you usually do?

6. About how much time do you spend shopping?  
How often do you shop (How many times a week)
7. Is there a church around here?  
How did you hear about it?  
How do you like this one  
Do you go very often?  
Do you know any of the members?
8. Are there any (ethnic) clubs around here?  
Have you joined any? Which? Why not?  
How did you hear about it?  
Where do they meet?  
Do you go very often?  
How do you like it?  
Why?
9. Would you like to see some kind of organization or recreation center around here?  
Doing what?
10. The West End used to be a place where people knew each other, visited and met each other outside. How is it around here?
  - a. Are there any places around here where people gather. Do you ever go there? Your Husb/ Wife About how often  
(suggested list if no answer)  
Parks  
Playgrounds  
Library yards  
Restaurants or bars  
Special stores  
Churches  
Community Center
11. Do you go visiting much or have people in since you've been here?
12. Have you had a chance to meet any new people since you have been here?  
Where? Who?
13. Would you like to meet more people?
14. Is there anything you would like to do that you cannot do since you've been here?
15. All in all, were you better off here or in the West End?

West End Pre-relocation Interview

\_\_\_\_\_ No. of rms. in apt. \_\_\_\_\_ Rent \_\_\_\_\_ Own \_\_\_\_\_  
Heat supplied: Y \_\_\_\_\_ N \_\_\_\_\_  
Central \_\_\_\_\_ Other \_\_\_\_\_  
Age: Husband \_\_\_\_\_ Wife \_\_\_\_\_ Toilet: Private \_\_\_\_\_ Shared \_\_\_\_\_  
Country of Birth \_\_\_\_\_  
Income \_\_\_\_\_ Source: 1) \_\_\_\_\_ 2) \_\_\_\_\_ 3) \_\_\_\_\_

Housing Looked for:

- A. How soon do you plan to move?  
B. Has anyone helped you try to find a place?  
Who?

How?

- C. What kind of place do you want? Apt. \_\_\_\_\_ Rm \_\_\_\_\_ Hotel \_\_\_\_\_  
How many rooms \_\_\_\_\_

Would you take a place where you had to walk up  
some stairs? Y \_\_\_\_\_ N \_\_\_\_\_ How many flights \_\_\_\_\_

Would you live in a building with a self-service elevator? Y \_\_\_\_\_ N \_\_\_\_\_  
with a man to operate it? Y \_\_\_\_\_ N \_\_\_\_\_

Would you take a place with a little kitchen? Y \_\_\_\_\_ N \_\_\_\_\_

- D. Do you have any health problems you have to consider?

Who has taken care of you when you have not felt well?  
Have the neighbors looked in?  
Children  
Relatives  
Friends  
Hospital: Which \_\_\_\_\_

Important neighborhood features

- A. What year did you move into this house? \_\_\_\_\_ Into the West End \_\_\_\_\_  
B. Where did you live before you moved into the West End?  
C. After all these years what do you like most about living in the W.E.?

How have you liked this building?  
How are the neighbors?

People in the West End?

Are there any places you or your husband  
go to often in the West End?

Shopping  
Rents  
Special Org. or Inst.

- D. What have you disliked?

E. Would you have moved if you didn't have to? Y \_\_\_\_\_ N \_\_\_\_\_ Why?

ACTIVITIES

A. Do you think you will be able to do the same things when you move as you do now?

1. How do you spend your time now?  
On weekends (for instance)    On Special days    During the day

2. Would you rather stay home or go out?

(Next question in the order they answer it)

3. What do you do while at home?

Rest    Read    Listen to radio,TV    Look out window    Sew    Cook    Talk on Tel.

II. \_\_\_\_\_  
W. \_\_\_\_\_

4. Do you still like to cook and bake? Y \_\_\_ N \_\_\_  
Does any one help you with the housework? Y \_\_\_ N \_\_\_  
How much of the day do you spend? \_\_\_\_\_  
Do you enjoy working around the house \_\_\_\_\_

5. When you go out, do you like to  
Go shopping around the neighborhood \_\_\_\_\_  
Walk around \_\_\_\_\_  
Go into town \_\_\_\_\_  
Talk to the neighbors outside \_\_\_\_\_  
Go to church, club or other org. \_\_\_\_\_  
Sit outside in park \_\_\_\_\_

6. What do you enjoy doing most?

7. Do the people you are close to live in the West End?  
Children    Yes \_\_\_ No \_\_\_  
Relatives    Yes \_\_\_ No \_\_\_  
Friends    Yes \_\_\_ No \_\_\_

8. Where do they live?    How often do you see them?  
Do they come here?    Where do you see them?

<u>Person</u>	<u>Address</u>	<u>Place, type and amount of contact</u>
1. _____	_____	_____
2. _____	_____	_____
3. _____	_____	_____
4. _____	_____	_____
5. _____	_____	_____

<u>Person</u>	<u>Address</u>	<u>Place, type and Amount of Contact</u>
6. _____	_____	_____
7. _____	_____	_____
8. _____	_____	_____
9. _____	_____	_____
10. _____	_____	_____

Area looked for

A. When you move, where do you want to move to?

Anyplace else?

B. What things will you look for?

C. Which are most important to you?

Similar ethnic group?

Near the West End

Near Children  
Relatives

Near Friends

Near Stores: Special kind?

Near institution:

Central location: In Boston

Near Shopping center

Near Transportation

Attitude toward specific arrangements

A. Would you want to live with your children? yes\_\_\_ no\_\_\_

Near your children? yes\_\_\_ no\_\_\_

B. Would you like a neighborhood where your neighbors are your own age? Y\_\_N\_\_

C. In a public housing project?\_\_\_

D. What is the highest rent you will pay for a heated apt. \$\_\_\_\_\_

E. Would you talk to me again after you have moved?

1/14/58

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